UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

# THE SATIRICAL ELEMENT IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

BY
ERNEST JACKSON HALL

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ENGLISH

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
1922

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## FOREWORD

This thesis has been prepared with the hope that it may have some slight part, at least, in the present movement, led by such teachers as Dr. Arthur Hobson Quinn, Dr. Fred Lewis Pattee, and Dr. Carl Van Doren, to foster greater interest in the study of American fiction. I wish to express my thanks, especially, to Professor Quinn, under whose direction the thesis was written, for his patient and inspiring suggestions and criticisms.

E. J. H.

University of Pennsylvania, February 1, 1922.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

"You think this feign'd; the Satyr in a Rage
Struts in the Buskins of the Tragick Stage.
Forgets his business is to Laugh and Bite;
And will of Deaths and dire Revenges write.
Would it were all a Fable, that you read."

Thus does the great satirist of the seventeenth century, Dryden, render a passage from the writing of the great satirist of the first century, Juvenal.[1] Juvenal here indicates that the business of satire is to "laugh and bite." This conception of satire, a combination of wit and adverse criticism, has, in general, been the conception of all who have taken to themselves the name of satirist or who have ventured to apply it to others.

Mere wit and criticism, however, do not necessarily constitute satire As Dryden remarks in the Dedication of his translation of the Satires of Juvenal: "The nicest and most delicate touches of Satire consist in fine Raillery . . . How easie it is to call Rogue and Villain, and that wittily! But how hard to make a man appear a Fool, a Blockhead, or a Knave, without using any of those approbrious Terms. To spare the grossness of the Names, and do the thing yet more severely, is to draw a full Face, and to make the Nose and Cheeks stand out, and yet not to employ any depth of Shadowing. This is the mystery of that noble Trade . . . There is a vast difference betwixt the slovenly Butchering of a Man, and the fineness of a Stroak that separates the Head from the Body, and leaves it standing in its place." That is to say, with the wit and the criticism there must be an indirectness of treatment: the writer must "make a man appear a fool, a blockhead, or a knave, without using any of those approbrious terms." Wit alone may be mere foolery; criticism alone may be only invective; a combination of wit and criticism, applied indirectly, is satire.

[1] First Satire.

Juvenal, in commenting upon various Roman satirists, says of Horace that he

> " . . . with a sly insinuating Grace,
> Laughed at his Friend, and look'd him in the Face;
> Would raise a Blush, where secret Vice is found;
> And tickle, while he gently prob'd the Wound.
> With seeming Innocence the Crowd beguil'd;
> But made the desperate Passes, when he smil'd."[2]

Satire is characterized by "sly insinuating grace;" it probes at the same time it tickles, and it makes desperate passes while it smiles.

Satire being a compounding of three distinct elements, it follows that there will be great variation in what may properly be classed as satire. It may be decidedly indirect, where the criticism is merely implied in the situation; it may be less indirect, where the author puts the criticism into the mouth of one of his characters; or it may be still less indirect, where the author himself speaks ironically. In every case, however, there is insinuation, rather than direct attack. Likewise with regard to the other two elements, wit and criticism, there may be wide variation. We must necessarily come upon some writing which contains an infinitesimal amount of criticism, with a great deal of wit. Conversely, we shall find writing in which the criticism is strong, and the wit almost negligible. So long, however, as the three elements, wit, criticism, and indirectness of treatment, are present, we have satire, though it is often advisable to use, not the noun, but the adjective, and to say that the writing is satirical, or has a satirical quality.

The field of satire is practically infinite, since there are very few things which are wholly above criticism or beyond the range of a sharp and subtle wit. Any classification of the objects of satire, therefore, must of necessity be largely arbitrary and be very general in its fixation of boundaries. This becomes increasingly true with the increasing complexity of our civilization. wherein each part, is almost inextricably interwoven with theothers.

It is proposed in this thesis to trace the development of satire in the novel in America from the point of view of the conditions satirized: (1) Social; (2) Political and Economic; (3) Religious; (4) Literary. Under each head will be treated those human failings, such as hypocrisy, snobbish-

[2] First Satire, Dryden's translation.

ness, artificiality, or greed, which are most often made the subject of attack in that field.

At the end of each chapter will be placed a resumé from the point of view of the authors treated in that chapter, which will indicate the nature of their satirical method and will, at the same time, serve as a chronological survey.

In conclusion, certain general results will be indicated, including a discussion of the fairness of the satire and its significance as a contribution to social history. A list of the novels in America which employ the satirical method in treating their material, arranged in order of their dates of publication, will also be given.

Consideration has been limited to those novels which deal, wholly or in part, with American traits or institutions. The short story has been treated only in cases where the author was also a novelist.

## CHAPTER II

## SATIRE UPON SOCIETY

Taken in the widest sense, "satire upon society" would include practically all satire, since it is almost entirely human relationships that engage the attention of the satirist. In the narrowest sense it would be limited to satire upon so-called "fashionable society." In this discussion a middle ground will be taken between the two extremes, and the term society be understood to apply to the more restricted associations of everyday life, in whatever stage of culture or prosperity, as opposed to the broader associations of government, religion, and literature.

The three elements in society which are the chief targets for the satirist are hypocrisy, snobbishness, and artificiality. Hypocrisy is a failing from which few people are entirely free, and it is in this direction that the writer of satire has his widest choice. Snobbishness is only slightly less common. Artificiality is here used to include those larger aspects of social life that may not properly be included under hypocrisy, which refers more particularly to pretended worth or wisdom in the individual. Actually, of course, the three, hypocrisy, snobbishness, and artificiality, are closely bound up with each other. The hypocrite is very frequently also the snob, as he often tries to hide his duplicity by assuming a superiority over others. Conversely, the snob, in many cases, realizes well that his superiority is only a pose and that, if he is found out, his position in society will be in grave danger. And so he conceives new methods of deceit and assumes an air of even greater superciliousness. Artificiality in society as a mass is an outgrowth of artificiality in the individual.

What is usually regarded as the first American novel, "The Power of Sympathy" (1789), by Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton, the New England poetess, is very largely a satire. The book is interesting only historically, as it barely comes under the classification of novel and it gives a sentimental, untrue picture of actual conditions. The satire is aimed at a vicious form of hypocrisy, that of the libertine, but there is so much exaggeration and repetition that the reader wearies long before the end. The plot, such as it is, is laid in Boston, but the conditions portrayed were certainly not true of the

Boston society of that time, or of any other. The story is carried on through an interchange of letters between various characters; the chief topic of discussion in practically all is seduction. Indeed, the impression given the reader is that nearly all men are seducers and that nearly all women are open to betrayal. The most effective piece of satire in the book is the poem "The Court of Vice," included in Letter XXV. It pictures Vice as seated upon her throne and calling upon the various crimes to compete for the place of honor at her right hand; he is to have it "who most annoys the human race." Pride, Intemperance, Theft, Fraud, Murder, Avarice, Stealth, all finally bow to Seduction.

Mrs. Susanna Haswell Rowson, in her most successful novel, "Charlotte Temple" (1790), also satirizes social conditions which make seduction possible. Though born and educated in England, Mrs. Rowson spent the larger part of her life here and was essentially an American. Her first novel, "Victoria," was published in 1786, three years before "The Power of Sympathy," but the setting is English. Her first novel which can be called American is "Charlotte Temple." The story tells of the elopement of Charlotte with a young British officer, Montraville, of his failure to marry her after the arrival in America, of his neglect and final desertion of her, of the birth of their child, and of Charlotte's death among strangers.

Hypocrisy is again severely satirized in the work of a far more important early American novelist, Hugh Henry Brackenridge. In his "Modern Chivalry" (1792-1805), one of the two leading characters, Teague, an unlettered Irish servant, is pictured in nearly every chapter as showing some new evidences of hypocrisy. But the hypocrisy of Teague, who is lacking in every quality associated with the ideas of culture and refinement, is constantly matched by instances of hypocrisy in those of higher station with whom he comes in contact. At one time he enters the room of a maid at an inn where he and his master are staying. A clergyman who hears her cries and comes to the rescue is later accused of the misdemeanor by the rascally Irishman. Suspicion is readily fixed upon him, though there is no real evidence of his guilt. Teague's master, however, induces the true culprit to confess. Whereupon a Presbytery, which chances to be sitting at a church nearby, is so impressed by the incident that, without making any investigation, it offers to ordain Teague a minister of the gospel. He, as usual, is ready to accept the offer, for "he did not suppose there was any

great harm in engaging in a new employment where the work was light and the pay not to be despised." But the captain, by appealing to Teague's cowardice and selfishness, finally persuades him to reject the offer. The author closes the chapter by observing: "In state affairs, ignorance does very well, and why not in church? I am for having all things of a piece: ignorant statesmen, ignorant philosophers, and ignorant ecclesiastics." At another time Teague is pictured as being made the lion of society by the Philadelphia ladies of a century ago. He is styled "Major" and is dined, flattered, and made love to by the majority of the members of the leading social circles. The fickleness and shallowness of woman's nature is especially satirized in this connection.

The hypocrisy which is almost always characteristic of the very selfish person is bitterly satirized in Catherine Sedgwick's "A New England Tale" (1822). Jane Elton, the central character in the book, has been left an orphan. Her three aunts meet to discuss her future. One, Mrs. Wilson, finally agrees to take the girl to her own home for a time, though her motives are even more selfish than those of the other two, who refuse to do so. Soon after Jane reaches her new home, the aunt says to her: "You know, child, the trouble and expense of taking you upon my hands is very great. . . . It is a great trial to me to take you, but the consciousness of doing my duty, and more than my duty to you, supports me under it." A friend of the girl's father, Mr. Lloyd, would like to help her, but "he knew well that Mrs. Wilson would not consent to any arrangement that would deprive her of Jane's ill-requitted services." Jane is compelled to attend religious lectures, especially when she expresses a desire to do something else, and she laments that "where there was so much of the form of worship, there was so little of its spirit and truth." After several chapters filled with countless examples of selfishness and cruelty on the part of the aunt and of suffering and truthful uprightness on the part of the orphan, Mrs. Wilson conveniently dies and Jane becomes the happy bride of Mr. Lloyd.

Much less striking satire upon hypocrisy is to be found in Miss Sedgwick's "Clarence" (1830). Here the picture presented is of criminal intrigue. It centers around the relations of Layton and Pedrillo, both of whom are outwardly respectable and honest but who secretly plan devilish crimes.

James Kirk Paulding, in "Konigsmarke" (1823), comments thus upon hypocrisy as affecting the operation of men's consciences: "The reader

may smile at the idea of corrupting a community with halfpence, now when paper money is so plenty that dollars fly about like may-flies in the spring, and that it sometimes takes a hundred of these to purchase a man's conscience. . . . It hath been shrewdly observed that the value of money regulates the consciences of men, as it does every other article of trade."

The gossip is almost always a hypocrite, either in the methods which she employs to gather her stock in trade or in the reasons which she gives for dispensing certain choice bits of scandal.

Paulding, in "Konigsmarke," represents Edith Piper, only sister of the governor of the Swedish settlement on the Delaware River, as being an inveterate gossip. The account says of her: "We venture to pledge our veracity as historians that there never were but two secrets in the village, from the time of Madam Edith's arrival, to the day of her final extinction. One was the day of the lady's birth—the other we do not care to disclose at present. . . . She never repeated a tale of scandal, without at first impressively assuring her hearers that she did not believe a word of it, not she; she merely told the story, to show what an ill-natured world it was that we lived in." In "The Dutchman's Fireside" (1831), Paulding remarks: "But a plague on Nature! she is a female after all, and there is no trusting her."

Cooper satirizes the gossip in Mrs. Abbott, a character in "Home as Found" (1860). Nothing of interest in the town escapes her. She is continually foretelling events, which usually do not happen, and spreading scurrilous stories, which almost invariably prove to be false. Her son, Orlando Furioso, is kept constantly on the run gathering up stray bits of information which the mother may piece together to suit her fancy. In this same novel, Cooper, like Brackenridge, satirizes the hypocrisy which leads people to lionize some supposedly great person who has come into their midst. In this case the people are of the most exclusive set in the New York society of nearly a century ago, and the lion is a rough old seaman, Captain Truck. At the gathering where he appears the notion gets about that he is a famous writer, and the conversation which arises concerning him serves to show both the hypocrisy and the ignorance of the speakers. One feminine enthusiast says of the Captain: "Do you think him Byronic? To my eyes the cast of his head is Shakespearean, rather. Though I confess there is a little of Milton about the forehead!"

An excellent satirical delineation of the thorough hypocrite is that of Judge Pyncheon in Hawthorne's "The House of Seven Gables" (1851). The picture is made much more striking through the strong contrasts which are presented between the Judge as the world sees him and as the reader sees him when Hawthorne draws the veil from the other half of the portrait. For instance, we have on the one side such comments as these: "The purity of his judicial character while on the bench; the faithfulness of his public service in subsequent capacities; his devotion to his party; . . . his prayers at morning and eventide, and graces at meal-time; his efforts in furtherance of the temperance cause; his confining himself, since the last attack of gout, to five diurnal glasses of old sherry wine; . . . The smile of broad benevolence wherewith he made it a point to gladden the whole world—what room could possibly be found for darker traits, in a portrait of lineaments like these?" On the other side we have the account of the meeting between the Judge and his cousin, Hepzibah, wherein it transpires that his interest in Hepzibah's brother, Clifford, as an unfortunate kinsman has been wholly selfish pretension and that it is he who has been responsible for the long and terrible confinement in an insane asylum which has ruined the mind and body of the latter. Toward the close of the book Hawthorne seems to take a grim delight—and he has the reader with him—in taunting the Judge, as he sits dead in the House of the Seven Gables. The opening sentence of one of the paragraphs will show the tone of the whole chapter: "Still lingering in the old chair! If the Judge has a little time to throw away, why does not he visit the insurance office, as is his frequent custom?"

A satirical picture of an entirely different type of hypocrite is presented in Oliver Wendell Holmes' "Elsie Venner" (1861). Mr. Silas Peckham is head of a New England boarding school for young ladies. One glimpse of this sort of educator's character is given when Mr. Peckham goes out to purchase supplies for his charges: "Mr. Peckham visited certain 'stores' or shops, where he made inquiries after various articles in the provision line, and effected a purchase or two. Two or three barrels of potatoes, which had sprouted in a promising way, he secured at a bargain. A side of feminine beef was also obtained at a low figure. He was entirely satisfied with a couple of barrels of flour, which, being invoiced 'slightly damaged,' were to be had at a reasonable price." An attempt to purchase for a picnic, to which admission would be charged, the scraps left from a

dinner party at the home of a Colonel Sprowle results less happily, and Peckham "backed himself out as if unwilling to expose the less guarded aspect of his person to the risk of accelerating impulses." A still more satirical glimpse of Mr. Peckham's character is given in the description of an interview between him and the head of his English Department, Mr. Langdon, in the course of which Mr. Peckham says: "On the Sabbath you will be able to attend divine service three times, which is expected of our teachers. . . My teachers enjoy the Lord's day as a day of rest. In it they do no manner of work—except in cases of necessity or mercy, such as fillin' out diplomas, or when we git crowded jest at the end of the term, or when there is an extry number of poopils, or other Providential call to dispense with the ordinance."

Bayard Taylor's "Hannah Thurston" (1863) is largely a satire on the hypocrisy of certain types of reformer, but there is also a good deal of incidental satire upon little hypocrisies not having to do with reform. The two classes of reformer most severely satirized are the "women's rights" advocates and the foes of intemperance. Mr. Merryfield, pictured as a chronic subscriber to every sort of reform, is usually the central figure in the women's rights meetings. A good sample of his style of oratory is found in one of his speeches of introduction: "I have now the pleasure, as it were, of introducing to the audience the noble advocate of women's rights, Isaiah Bemis, who—whose name is—is well known to you all as the champion of his—I mean, her—persecuted sex. . . When women shall fill her true spere, it will shine—will be written among the martyrs of Reform, as it were, for Truth, crushed to Earth, rises up in spite of—of—though the heavens fall!"

In a chapter of "Hannah Thurston" entitled "One of the Summer Diversions of Ptolemy" there is a strongly satirical account of the operation of over-enthusiastic methods of temperance reform. The annual temperance convention of the section is to be held at Ptolemy. "One of the most prominent speakers on Temperance, Mr. Abiram Stokes, was called upon to brush up his well-used images and illustrations for a new campaign." The Ptolemy Cornet Band is secured for the occasion, but difficulty is encountered in picking appropriate airs. After much discussion, several are selected, such as "The Old Oaken Bucket," "Allan Water," "Zurich Waters," and "The Haunted Spring." However, the most successful performance when

the event actually comes off turns out to be "Landlord, fill the flowing bowl," which the leader cannot resist giving a few times during the course of the day. The description of the banners carried by the various organizations is also in a satiric vein. The last one in the list is that of Nero Corners; "This little community, too poor or too economical to own a temperance banner, took a political one, which they had used in the campaign of the previous year. Upon it were the names of the candidates for President and Vice-President: 'Pierce and King.' A very little alteration turned the word 'Pierce' into 'Prince,' and the word 'Water" being prefixed, the inscription became: 'Water—Prince and King.' Those from other neighborhoods, who were not in the secret, greatly admired the simplicity and force of the expression."

Hypocrisies of another sort in the society of Ptolemy are not overlooked. At a "social," lemonade is served. All the ladies watch the minister's wife: "The four spinsters, observing that Mrs. Lemuel Styles drank but the half of her glass replaced theirs also half-filled, though it went to their hearts to do so." At a later date the three sewing circles of the village are holding a union meeting at the home of a Mr. Woodbury. While waiting for the other members to arrive, several of the ladies inspect the pictures which hang about the walls. "In the sitting-room were Landseer's 'Challenge' and Ary Scheffer's 'Francesca da Rimini.' Miss Ruhaney Goodwin turned suddenly away from the latter, with difficulty suppressing an exclamation. 'Did you ever?' said she to Miss Eliza Clancy; 'it isn't right to have such pictures hung up.' 'Hush!' answered Miss Eliza, 'it may be from Scripture.' Miss Ruhaney now contemplated the picture without hesitation."

In "Pink and White Tyranny" (1871), Harriet Beecher Stowe has attempted to present in Lillie Ellis Seymour a satirical picture of a character made up of a combination of hypocrisy, snobbishness, and selfishness. Lillie is always "hooking fellows" without getting entangled herself, but finally she does become married to Seymour, who thinks of her as "a dear, gentle, little, confiding creature." Soon after their marriage, Lillie, by a generous employment of tears, convinces her husband that it is entirely necessary to her health and happiness to spend a part of the summer at Newport, and at the same time strives to impress upon him the fact that she is doing it all to please him. At Newport, in "The Paradise of Nothing to Do," Lillie "could bathe the longest and strongest of anyone, could ride

on the beach half the day, and dance the german into the small hours of the night, with a degree of vigor which showed conclusively what a fine thing for her the Newport air was." When finally Seymour's fortune is gone and Lillie has to give up her butterfly life, she assumes "the part of a patient, persecuted saint."

William Dean Howells is very fond of satirizing the little hypocrisies of women. He is amused in most cases, however, rather than angered or disgusted, and his satire usually takes the form of occasional chuckles at some evidence of feminine weakness or duplicity which comes to his notice. Thus, in "Their Wedding Journey" (1872), he has Basil say: "Clara is very much of a reformer and would make an end of all us men, I suppose—except her father, who supports her in the leisure that enables her to do deep thinking." Again, in "Doctor Breen's Practice" (1881), he satirizes the attitude of women toward one of their own sex who essays a career as a practicing physician. "The Rise of Silas Lapham" (1885) contains many such remarks as: "They came gingerly and vaguely forward, as young ladies do when they wish to seem to be doing a thing that they have made up their minds to do"; and "—yielding to the necessity a wife feels of making her husband pay for her suffering, even if he has not inflicted it." Mrs. Markley, in "A Traveler from Altruria" (1894), is pictured as a self-righteous, hypocritically sentimental sort of woman. A good example of this is the account of her visit to a poor family, the Camps. When she enters their poverty-stricken home, she gushingly exclaims: "How I envy you all this dear old, homelike place! . . . If I had a place like this, I should never leave it." To this the son, Reuben Camp, replies: "Well, Mrs. Markley, you can have this place cheap, if you really want it. Or almost any other place in the neighborhood."

Henry James, in "The Bostonians" (1886), satirizes, as Taylor has done, some of the hypocritical methods employed by would-be reformers like Miss Birdseye: "She belonged to any and every league that had been founded for almost any purpose whatever. This did not prevent her being a confused, entangled, inconsequent, discursive old woman, whose charity began at home and ended nowhere, whose credulity kept pace with it, and who knew less about her fellow creatures, if possible, after fifty years of humanitary zeal, than on the day she had gone into the field to testify against the iniquity of most arrangements. Bill Ransom knew very little about such a

life as hers, but she seemed to him a revelation of a class, and a multitude of socialistic figures."

A delightful piece of satire upon hypocrisy is the picture of Mrs. Sherrington Trimm in F. Marion Crawford's "Three Fates" (1892). Constantly tossed about between greed and the pricks of conscience, striving ever to satisfy both, she is compelled to play the hypocrite with practically everyone with whom she comes in contact, particularly with George Wood, to whom she feels she owes a debt of conscience, and Tom Craik, her brother, whose money she is very anxious to inherit. The following example is one of many in which the author holds her hypocrisy up to ridicule. While hoping for the speedy demise of her brother, "Totty" must, at the same time, in order to get him to change his will in her favor, give the impression of great solicitude for his health. Tom, who sees through her wiles, laughs at her. "Thereupon Mrs. Trimm burst into tears with much feeling. . . . He knew very well that those same tears were genuine and that they had their source in anger and disappointment rather than in any sympathy for himself, and he congratulated himself upon having changed his will in time."

In "The Captain's Toll-Gate" (1903), Frank R. Stockton presents a somewhat similar, though less extensive and less satirical, picture of a hypocrite in Miss Maria Port. In the words of Jane, the Captain's servant: "She's a regular boa-constrictor, that woman is. She's twisted herself around people before this and squeezed the senses out of them; and that's exactly what she's doin' with the captain."

Edith Wharton, more than any other American novelist, has treated satirically the element of hypocrisy which she has noted in persons of nearly every stage of society. "The House of Mirth" (1905) is filled with pictures of hypocrisy. Lilly Bart's whole life is largely one of pretension, for her entire manner of existence makes it imperative that she appear to be what she herself knows she is not. On the other hand, those who at first appear to be her friends are, for the most part, friends only outwardly and do not hesitate to cast her off when it is to their advantage to do so. "Ethan Frome" (1911) presents two types of hypocrite. One type is that of Frome and his sweetheart, Mattie, whose lives are a perpetual lie to Frome's wife, Zeena; the other is that of Zeena, who is a confirmed hypocrite so far as her state of health is concerned. One passage states that "within a year of

their marriage she developed the 'sickliness' which had since made her notable even in a community notable in pathological instances. When she came to take care of his mother she had seemed to Ethan like the very genius of health, but he soon saw that her skill as a nurse had been acquired by the absorbed observation of her own symptoms." Undine, in "The Custom of the Country," is a thorough-going hypocrite, for only by hypocrisy is she able to gain her selfish ends. Her hypocrisy shows itself mainly in her pretensions of love for various men and later for her child, to the end that she may secure the pleasures which wealth and position can give her. Lucius Harvy, in "Summer" (1917), proves in the end to be a hypocrite so far as his love for Charity Royall is concerned. "Xingu" (1916), a short story, is an admirable satire upon the hypocrisies of a literary club in a small town. The club always takes it upon itself to entertain any distinguished visitors to the village. On this particular occasion the guest is a writer of fiction, Osric Dane. The ladies are rather hard-pressed for an interesting topic of conversation, until Mrs. Roby, who is rather despised by the other members because of her supposed lack of literary knowledge, suggests "Xingu" as the subject in which the club has during the past winter been most deeply interested. This straw is immediately seized upon and is the chief topic of conversation for the rest of the meeting, though none of the ladies present except Mrs. Roby knows what Xingu is. One lady gushingly suggests that a recent book of Osric Dane's is "saturated with it"; another states that she has "known cases where it has changed a whole life"; a third affirms that it has done her "worlds of good." After the guest has departed, greatly bored, in company with Mrs. Roby, the remaining members of the club have recourse to the encyclopedia and learn that Xingu is a river in Brazil.

Snobbishness comes in frequently for satirical treatment, though not to so great an extent as hypocrisy. In many cases the two, snobbishness and hypocrisy, go hand in hand, since the snob often bases his pretensions to superiority upon what he knows to be false grounds. The snob, like the hypocrite, is to be found in nearly every stratum of society, but he does not attract the attention of the satirist to the extent that the hypocrite does, because his actions usually do not have as evil effects upon the lives of his fellow-beings as those of the hypocrite. Snobbishness may arouse disgust, but seldom burning anger. Its treatment by the satirist, therefore, is more incidental and brief than is the case with hypocrisy.

Snobbishness, in the majority of cases, grows out of the idea of "gentility." Paulding, in "Konigsmarke" (1823), gives an analysis of the elements which go to make up this quality: "With some, gentility consists in eating with a silver fork, instead of a knife; with others, it consists in dining by candle, instead of daylight; with others, in talking bad French, instead of good English; with others, in a constant attendance on Italian operas, which they cannot understand, in preference to English plays, which they can." Nearly every other writer who has treated snobbishness expresses somewhat the same idea—that it is based upon an artificial, rather than a real, superiority.

The best definition of a snob to be found anywhere in American literature is contained in a paragraph in F. Marion Crawford's "The Heart of Rome" (1903): "The evolution of the snob has been going on quickly of late, and quicker than ever since vast wealth has given to the species the balance of at least one sort of power in society. His thoughts are still the same, but his outward shape approaches strangely near to that of the human being. There are snobs now, who behave almost as nicely in the privacy of their homes as in the presence of a duchess. They are much more particular as to the way in which others shall behave to them. That is a test, by the bye. The snob thinks most of the treatment he receives from the world; the gentleman thinks first how he shall act courteously to others."

In Hawthorne's "The House of Seven Gables" (1851) we have a picture of the fallen patrician, Hepzibah Pyncheon, still clinging to the belief that she is, by virtue of her ancestry, somehow above the common run of humanity. Of Hepzibah, on the day when she finally succumbs to the necessity of opening a penny shop in order to keep herself from starvation, Hawthorne says: "It was the final throe of what called itself old gentility. A lady—who had fed herself from childhood with the shadowy food of aristocratic reminiscences, and whose religion it was that a lady's hand soils itself irremediably by doing aught for bread—this born lady, after sixty years of narrowing means, is fain to step down from her pedestal of imaginary rank. . . . We have stolen upon Miss Hepzibah Pyncheon, too irreverently, at the instant of time when the patrician lady is to be transformed into the plebian woman." Hepzibah's attitude is shown when, at a later time, she says of little Phoebe, who has come to stay with her: "What a nice little body she is! If she could only be a lady, too!—but that's impossible!

Phoebe is no Pyncheon. She takes everything from her mother."

The question of caste as exemplified in small town society is satirized by Holmes in "Elsie Venner" (1861). Mrs. Sprowle, one of the social leaders, is giving a party to a group of the elite. In making up the list of those whom she considers qualified for this special honor she gets into considerable difficulty. For instance: "Mrs. Saymore, the tailor's wife, was not invited, because her husband *mended* clothes. If he had confined himself strictly to *making* them, it would have put a different face upon the matter."

Mrs. Stowe, in "Pink and White Tyranny" (1871), satirizes the variety of snobbishness often displayed by rich, would-be fashionable people who have just enough smattering of culture, travel, and brains to make them generally ridiculous. The following-quoted passage gives a picture of Mr. Follingsbee, who has just completed a survey of the Seymour home: "'Pretty well done, too, for America!' said Mr. Follingsbee, gazing around and settling his collar. Mr. Follingsbee was one of the class of returned travelers who always speak condescendingly of anything American; as 'so-so,' or 'tolerable,' or 'pretty fair,'—a considerateness which goes a long way towards keeping up the spirits of the country." As to Mrs. Follingsbee: "In the opinion of many of her class of thinkers, French is the key to the kingdom of heaven; and, of course, it is worth one's while to sell all that one has to be possessed of it."

Mark Twain, ever the foe of snobbishness of any sort, holds up to ridicule, in "The Gilded Age" (1873), the type of society woman who ruled in Washington in the days just after the Civil War. For example, a Mrs. Oliver Higgins was the wife of a delegate "who had kept the principal saloon, and sold the best whiskey in the principal village in his wilderness;" another leader, Mrs. Patrique Oreillé, was the wife of a corrupt grafter and ward boss who had landed in New York some years before from Cork as plain Patrick O'Riley, but had since paid a visit with his family to Paris. In "Pudd'nhead Wilson" (1894), again, he strikes at "first families" snobbishness in his discussion of the "F. F. V.," First Families of Virginia. His comments close with: "Honor stood first; and the laws defined what it was and wherein it differed in certain details from honor as defined by church creeds and by the social laws and customs of some of the minor divisions of the globe that had got crowded out when the sacred boundaries of Virginia were staked out."

Howells, in "The Rise of Silas Lapham" (1885), satirizes a common manifestation of snobbishness—the boastful attitude of superiority which the so-called self-made rich take toward those less heavily endowed with worldly goods, no matter what other possessions—culture, education, social position—they may have. In the case of Silas Lapham this weakness is artistically contrasted with the native honesty and courage of the man. Lapham's attitude is well set forth in the account of the interview which he grants the reporter for the "Solid Men of Boston" series in a local paper, an interview in which he praises his own achievements with unblushing vanity. Again, in "Annie Kilburn" (1889), and much more decidedly, he satirizes snobbishness. Here the picture is of society in a small Massachusetts town, Hatboro'. The residents of South Hatboro', exemplified by Mrs. Munger, regard themselves as quite above mingling on anything approaching terms of equality with most of the residents of the town proper and especially with those who live "over the track." A large part of the story is concerned with the attempt, sponsored by Mrs. Munger, to found a "Social Union" for the poorer laboring class. It develops, however, that when it comes to a matter of real union, a truly sympathetic association with this class, the line is drawn rather sharply, and the scheme proves to be worse than a failure. The snobbish attitude is well expressed in the words of a Mr. Brandreth, a lieutenant of Mrs. Munger in the scheme, during a conversation with Annie regarding a proposed entertainment to raise funds for the Union: "You see, the design is to let everybody come to the theatricals, and only those remain to the supper and dance whom we invite. That will keep out the socially objectionable element—the shoe-shop hands and the straw-shop girls."

Much like Hawthorne's picture of Hepzibah Pyncheon is that presented by Margaret Deland in the short story "Where the Laborers Are Few" (1898). Three old maid sisters are very proud of the fact that one of their ancestors was a bishop and another a clergyman, and consequently consider themselves somewhat above the other residents of the village, in spite of the fact that they are themselves poverty-stricken. Miss Maggy, the eldest, says on one occasion to the other two sisters: "I am sure I have the greatest respect for working persons. . . . But still I know what is due our station. And besides, if you trimmed hats, Jane, everybody would know

that we are—are not well off. . . . We do fancy work for recreation; if our friends need the product of our needles, well and good. Were our circumstances different, we would be glad to give them what they wish. As it is, we make a slight charge—for materials."

Mrs. Wharton's "Age of Innocence" (1920) has as one of its chief motives the portrayal of snobbishness. Nearly all the minor characters in the book are snobs. Some are snobs because of ancestry, some because of wealth, some for no reason at all. One corner of the general picture is occupied by Mrs. Julius Beaufort, of whom the account says: "Mrs. Julius Beaufort, on the night of her annual ball, never failed to appear at the Opera; indeed she always gave her ball on an Opera night in order to emphasize her complete superiority to household cares, and her possession of a staff of servants competent to organize every detail of the entertainment in her absence. . . . Mrs. Archer, who was fond of coining her social philosophy into axioms, had once said: 'We all have our pet common people——' and though the phrase was a daring one, its truth was secretly admitted in many an exclusive bosom. But the Beauforts were not exactly common; some people said they were even worse. Mrs. Beaufort belonged indeed to one of America's most honored families; she had been the lovely Regina Dallas (of the South Carolina branch), a penniless beauty introduced to New York society by her cousin, the imprudent Medora Manson, who was always doing the wrong thing from the right motive. When one was related to the Mansons and the Rushworths one had a 'droit de cité' (as Mr. Sillerton Jackson, who had frequented the Tuileries, called it) in New York society; but did one not forfeit it in marrying Julius Beaufort?"

Artificiality is in the main synonymous with hypocrisy and, to a less extent, with snobbishness. There are, however, a few instances of artificiality which have engaged the attention of satirists, and which cannot properly be discussed under either of the other two headings.

Irving's "History of New York" (1809) is filled with pictures of the artificialities in the lives of the old Dutch settlers. One famous example is the description of the eternal strife of the Dutch housewives against dirt, real and imaginary: "The whole house was constantly in a state of inundation, under the discipline of mops and brooms and scrubbing-brushes; and the good housewives of those days were a kind of amphibious animal, delighting exceedingly to dabble in water—in so much that an historian of

the day gravely tells us that many of his townswomen grew to have webbed fingers like unto a duck."

Hawthorne satirizes artificiality in several of his stories. "The Blithedale Romance" (1852) contains considerable satire upon the Brook Farm experiment. His descriptions of the life there and his ideas concerning it were obtained during the few months that he was a member of the community. Speaking in the "Romance" of his thoughts on the day when he set out for the farm, he says: "I quitted my cosey pair of bachelor rooms, with a good fire burning in the grate . . . and plunged into the heart of the pitiless snow-storm in quest of a better life. A better life! Possibly, it would hardly look so now." There is irony, again, in the exposition he gives of the ideals of the community to which he has come: "It was our purpose—a generous one, certainly, and absurd, no doubt, in full proportion with its generosity—to give up whatever we had herefore obtained, for the sake of showing mankind the example of a life governed by other than the false and cruel principles on which society has all along been based." And a few paragraphs farther on: "It struck me as rather odd that one of the first questions raised after our separation from the greedy, struggling, self-seeking world should relate to the possibility of getting the advantage over the outside barbarians in their own field of labor. But, to own the truth, I very soon became sensible that as regarded society at large we stood in a position of new hostility, rather than new brotherhood."

Among the various schemes for reform which are satirized in Taylor's "Hannah Thurston" (1863) is one for communism. As Seth Waddles, the leading reformer, explains it, it is a "Plan for the Reorganization of Society, by which we can lighten the burden of labor, and avoid the necessity of Governments, with all their abuses."

The artificiality of large city society is satirized by Mark Twain in "The Gilded Age" (1873). Here he explains in one place how the ladies maintain an acquaintanceship: "When a lady of any prominence comes to one of our cities and takes up her residence, all the ladies of her grade favor her in turn with an initial call. . . . They talk two minutes and a quarter and then go. If the lady receiving the call desires a further acquaintance, she must return the visit within two weeks; to neglect it beyond that time means 'let the matter drop.' . . . If the parties go on calling upon each other once a year, in our large cities, that is sufficient, and the acquaintanceship

holds good. . . . It is not necessary that the ladies shall actually *see* each other oftener than every few years."

Howells satirizes practically the same type of artificiality through the words and actions of Mrs. Markley in "A Traveler from Altruria" (1894). The Altrurian cannot understand what the society woman does that she becomes so worn out she has to rest at a resort for several months during the summer. Mrs. Markley explains to him: "A lady is busy from morning till night. She always goes to bed perfectly worn out . . . with going to lunches and teas and concerts and theatres and art exhibitions and charity meetings and receptions, and with writing a thousand and one notes about them, and accepting and declining, and giving lunches and dinners, and making calls and receiving them, and I don't know what all. It's the most hideous slavery." In a later conversation the Altrurian asks her about her neighbors, and she replies: "I don't know the people next door! We live in a large apartment house, some forty families, and I assure you I don't know a soul among them. . . . The servants all know each other; they meet in the back elevator, and get acquainted. I don't encourage it. You can't tell what kind of families they belong to. . . . I have my visiting-list, but I shouldn't think of anyone on that as a neighbor."

Nathaniel Parker Willis, in "Paul Fane" (1856), satirizes to some extent a type of artificiality much more common then than today—the attempts of Americans to place themselves on an equal footing abroad with the polished inhabitants of various European countries. One of the chief characters in the book, Wabash Blivins, and his fellow Hoosiers, the Firkinses, mother and daughter, are constantly thrown into an unfavorable light in comparison with the aristocracy with which they endeavor to associate in Florence.

Practically all of the satire to be found in Henry James' novels which have American characters is of this same sort. Thus in "The American" (1877) Christopher Newman, a wealthy but not well educated Westerner, is represented as aspiring to the hand of a titled widow, Madame de Cintré. He succeeds finally in winning her consent and apparently, for a time, that of her haughty mother and brother. But in the end these two decide that a member of their distinguished family, poverty-stricken though it is, cannot marry a manufacturer of wash-tubs. The comparison is unfair, in that the author has not chosen for his American a typical character even, but one

below the average in culture, whereas, on the other hand, he has chosen for his European representative a family whose whole environment for centuries has breathed polish and refinement.

In James' "The Europeans" (1878) there is exemplified the same attitude. Baroness Eugenia Münster, morganatic wife of a German prince, has come to America with her brother, with the idea of severing her connection with her husband. Here a young man, Robert Acton, falls in love with her, but in the end she refuses his offer of marriage and sails for Europe, to resume her old position.

Again, in "An International Episode" (1879), James pictures a situation in which a young English peer, Lord Lambeth, falls in love with and wishes to marry a talented American girl, Bessie Alden. Lambeth's cousin, Mr. Beaumont, opposes the match, as does also his mother, the Duchess of Bayswater. The Duchess and her daughter, Lady Pimlico, snub Bessie and her sister and make them understand that a match between the two families is impossible. Although Bessie is clever and well educated, she lacks the traditions of the English aristocrats. In this story, too, we have, as in "The American," James' usual portrayal of the American man of business, one who thinks only of money-making, cares nothing for cultural graces, and leaves society to the female members of his family.

"Daisy Miller" (1878) contains another unfair satire upon American traits. James represents Daisy as an unsophisticated, unconventional, rather flirtatious traveler in foreign lands and gives the impression that she is the typical American girl. This is obviously incorrect. Daisy Miller is a composite picture of two contradictory types, both existent, but not in combination. Here, again, the father, who has furnished the money which enables Daisy and her mother to travel, is pictured as being of the uncultured, money-seeking class.

In the three novels, "A Little Journey" (1891), "The Golden House" (1895), and "That Fortune" (1899), Charles Dudley Warner satirizes artificiality of life as seen in the words and actions of the rich—the Wall Street millionaire, who gains only when others lose, and his wife, who lives in idle luxury and practices charity as a pastime. The most satirical of the trilogy is "The Golden House." All three, however, are linked together and all deal with much the same material. The artificialities in the lives of the great manipulators in the Stock Exchange are satirized chiefly through the pic-

tures of Henderson in "A Little Journey" and "The Golden House," and of Mavick and Ault in "That Fortune." The chief satire, however, is of the lives of the millionaire wives, exemplified principally by Carmen Eschelle, who becomes Mrs. Henderson and, after his death, Mrs. Mavick. Warner delights especially in pointing out the great discrepancies between the philanthropical and religious actions of such women and the lack of any real spirit of love or sacrifice back of them. This is well summarized in a passage in "The Golden House," the concluding sentences of an account of a slumming visit to the East Side: "They even looked in at Father Damon's chapel, the dimly lighted fragrant refuge from the world and from sin. Why not? They were interested in the morals of the region. Had not Miss Tavish danced for one of the guilds, and had not Carmen given Father Damon a handsome check in support of his mission? It was so satisfactory to go into such a place and see the penitents kneeling here and there, the little group of plainly dressed sinners attracted by Father Damon's spiritual face and unselfish enthusiasm. Carmen said she felt like kneeling at one of the little boxes and confessing—the sins of her neighbors. And then the four—Carmen, Miss Tavish, Mavick, and Jack—had a little supper at Wherry's which they enjoyed all the more for the good action of visiting the East Side."

Mrs. Wharton's "The Age of Innocence" (1920), is, as a whole, a satire upon the artificiality of fashionable society in New York in "the early seventies." The title itself is satirical. From the opening chapter, where we are told that "it was one of the great livery-stable manager's most masterly intuitions to have discovered that Americans want to get away from amusement even more quickly than they want to get to it," that it was considered "not the thing" to arrive early at the opera, that "an unalterable and unquestioned law of the musical world required that the German text of French operas sung by Swedish artists should be translated into Italian for the clearer understanding of English-speaking audiences," to the last chapter, where it is said of Newland Archer that "somehow he knew that he had missed: the flower of life. . . . There were a hundred million tickets in his lottery and only one prize," the artificiality and hollowness of it all are impressed upon the reader. If we may trust Mrs. Wharton's insight into the matter, sincerity and truth were as foreign to the New York society of fifty years ago as automobiles and aeroplanes. Archer, who sees the artificiality,

and cries out against it, is nevertheless forced under by the conventions, marries within "the set," and lives the usual life, though his love through all the years is with Madame Olenska, who has dared to stand out against the hypocrisy of those about her and as a result has been snubbed and finally virtually compelled to go back to Europe.

There can be no question that between the dates of publication of Mrs. Morton's "The Power of Sympathy" (1789) and of Mrs. Wharton's "The Age of Innocence" (1920) there has been a decided improvement in the satirical treatment of society. It is perhaps worth noting that our first novel was a social satire, by a woman; and that one of our greatest modern novels is also a social satire, by a woman. But as the two are far apart in time, so are they very far apart in excellence of workmanship. There is the difference, too, that whereas the earlier novel is aimed primarily at the alleged shortcomings of men, Mrs. Wharton's satire is directed chiefly against the weaknesses and follies of women.

Mrs. Morton puts her attacks into the form of letters, ostensibly written by characters in the story. This artifice, however, breaks down very frequently, and the reader forgets that he is supposed to be perusing a letter and sees only the author delivering a sermon. Mrs. Rowson, who is likewise primarily a satirist, shows considerable advance as a novelist. With her there is greater interest in the story itself, and the satire is more largely that of situation. Brackenridge's method of satire is chiefly that of exaggeration. It is the method of the caricaturist, whereby actual conditions are somewhat twisted out of their relative proportions and the unfavorable features are given undue emphasis. Though, from the standpoint of fiction, this method is usually less artistic than other methods, it is sometimes more effective. Another advance is shown in the art of Miss Sedgwick. Although she uses caricature to a slight extent, she employs it in a way to aid materially the development of her plot. Her chief satire, however, is placed in the mouths of her characters or, less often, is implied in the situation.

Paulding, likewise, shows an improvement over the three earliest writers. He deals largely in the improbable, but not to the extent that Brackenridge does. He attempts to portray actual historical situations and resorts to exaggeration in the case of only a part of his characters. The satire of Cooper is much more vitriolic than that of any of the writers who had preceded

him, unless it be Mrs. Morton. He satirizes chiefly by putting words of criticism into the mouths of his characters. In Hawthorne social satire reached a much higher plane than it had before occupied in fiction. With greater art he makes satire less an element dragged in, and more an intrinsic part of the narrative. Taylor, again, uses in the main the easier method of exaggeration, or caricature, though he also at times evinces ability to make his characters criticize each other and to imply criticism in the situation. The method of Willis is chiefly that of caricature, though he does occasionally imply criticism in his portrayal of situation.

Holmes is likewise largely a caricaturist in his method of satire. He is much more witty than Taylor, however, and his satire is more effective. Mrs. Stowe's attempts at social satire are largely failures. She had neither the background nor the wit necessary for the task. Mark Twain is primarily a humorist. His satire has in it, therefore, a preponderance of broad humor. Exaggeration is his chief instrument.

Howells is one of the most delightful of our modern satirists. His method, except in "A Traveler from Altruria," which is primarily a treatise rather than a novel, is to throw out little hints and suggestions which carry with them a mild sting. In this one book most of the criticism is put into the mouths of the characters, chiefly the Altrurian himself. The satire of James, outside of "The Bostonians," is mainly international in its viewpoint. His method is almost entirely that of situation. Crawford's method is mainly that of ironical comment concerning his characters. Stockton puts much of his satire into the mouths of his characters. Warner is usually ironical.

Several of these writers—Brackenridge, Paulding, Cooper, Hawthorne, Mark Twain, Howells, and Crawford—will be discussed in connection with the treatment of other types of satire.

## CHAPTER III

## SATIRE UPON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Since political and economic problems do not form the basis for so many novels as do social questions, it follows that there is a much less extensive body of satire upon the former. Political satire is left largely to the cartoonist and the newspaper reporter and editor. This fact seems to be becoming increasingly true since the opening of the present century. When political or economic conditions are made the basis of a novel, very frequently the methods attacked are not those of the contemporary politician or "reformer," but those of a past era.

Little satire has been aimed at our form of government; the target is practically always the abuse of that form. In this respect the Irish politician and boss have been most severely attacked. This is a natural consequence of the prominent part, good and bad, which the Irish have taken in politics in this country for the past century and a half, particularly with regard to municipal affairs in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The extremely corrupt condition of the Federal Government following the Civil War is an attractive target for the satirists' shots, as are also the maltreatment of the Indian by the white man and the frequent miscarriage of justice through trial by jury.

By far the majority of novels which attack political or economic conditions, however, do so in too direct and too earnest a manner to be classed as satirical. Nevertheless, a number of the more important of these have, for the sake of completeness, been mentioned in the following paragraphs.

The first satire of any importance in American fiction upon native economic and political conditions is to be found in Brackenridge's "Modern Chivalry" (1792-1805). Soon after Captain Farrego and Teague, the leading characters in the tale, have set out upon their journey of observation, they come upon an election, in which one of the candidates is "a person of gravity and years, and said to be of sense and experience," the other a crude, uneducated Irishman. The two candidates are called upon for speeches. The one makes a clear, logical statement; the other, the Irishman, says:

"Friends, I'm a good dimicrat, and hates the Brattish—I'm an elder of the meetin', forby, and has been overseer of the roads for three years. An' ye all know, that my mammy was kilt o' the Injens—now all ye that's in my favor come forit and drenk." The Irishman is elected to the legislature. Brackenridge pictures several other elections, the worst candidate always winning in each case. Of an election in Philadelphia, then the capital of the nation, he has the Captain say: "It is a strange thing that, in the country, in my route, they would elect none but a weaver or a whiskey-distiller; and here none but fat swabs, that guzzle wine, and smoke segars." This observation leads him, a few days later, to visit the halls of Congress, where he hears several of the speeches, all absolutely meaningless. Other things satirized are incompetent judges, trial by jury, radical political "reformers," and the excise laws. In the later volumes of the book, particularly those in Part II, both the fictional and the satirical elements show a considerable falling off. The later parts are the more sober and more direct criticisms of an older man and lack much of the humorous and imaginative touch that makes the earlier chapters so delightful.

Considerable satire is aimed by Brackenridge at the misuse of Indian appropriations, a type of graft which has been notoriously common in our history. The Captain is one day approached by a man who says to him: "Sir, my business is that of an Indian treaty maker, and I am on my way with a party of kings, and half-kings, to the commissioners, to hold a treaty. My king of the Kickapoos, who was a Welsh blacksmith, took sick by the way and is dead. I have heard of this lad of yours, and could wish to have him a while to supply his place." The treaty maker then goes on to say that someone with a foreign tongue is required, "as some unknown gibberish is necessary to pass for an Indian language"; that these pseudo-chieftains are passed off as genuine before the government officials; and that large appropriations are thereby secured—and afterward used as the agent sees fit. Teague is quite willing to join the troupe, but the Captain, by persuading him that he would first have to be scalped, causes him to change his mind.

Irving, in the opening pages of his "History of New York" (1809), likewise satirizes the attitude of the white man toward the red. Especially delightful and keen is his account of the chain of arguments by which the Europeans demonstrated their right to the New World. The first source of this right, it was asserted, was discovery, "nothing being necessary to the

establishment of this fact but simply to prove that it was totally uninhabited by men." In spite of the fact that the Indians had "a marvelous resemblance to human beings," "the zealous and enlightened fathers, who accompanied the discoverers, for the purpose of promoting fat monasteries and bishoprics on earth, soon cleared up this point, greatly to the satisfaction of his holiness the pope, and of all Christian voyagers and discoverers." The next right established was that of cultivation. It was argued that the Indians, in not having more wants, were very unreasonable animals; and it was but just that they should make way for the Europeans, who had a thousand wants to their one, and therefore, would turn the earth to more account. . . . "Therefore, in opposing them, the savages . . . were hardened offenders against God and man: therefore, they ought to be exterminated." The final right was that of civilization: "All the world knows the lamentable state in which these poor savages were found. . . But no sooner did the benevolent inhabitants of Europe behold their sad condition, than they immediately went to work to ameliorate and improve it. They introduced among them rum, gin, brandy, and the other comforts of life—and it is astonishing to read how soon the poor savages learned to estimate these blessings; they likewise made known to them a thousand remedies by which the most inveterate diseases are alleviated and healed; and that they might comprehend the benefits and enjoy the comforts of these medicines, they previously introduced among them the diseases they were calculated to cure." Irving adds a fourth right—that of extermination, or "the right of gunpowder."

Like Brackenridge, also, Irving likes to describe, in satirical vein, the officials of government. Though ostensibly giving, in his "History," a picture of conditions only in New Amsterdam, by occasional phrases he implies that many of the same conditions prevailed in his own day. Thus, in the description of the first Dutch governor, Wouter Van Twiller, and his assistants, he says that the burgomasters, "like our aldermen," "were wisely chosen by weight, and the schepens, or assistant aldermen, were appointed to wait upon them and help them eat; but the latter, in the course of time, when they had been fed and fattened into sufficient bulk of body and drowsiness of brain, became very eligible candidates for the burgomasters' chairs. . . . Nothing could equal the profound deliberations that took place between the renowned Wouter and these, his worthy compeers, unless it be the sage divans of some of our modern corporations." Concerning a protest sent by the com-

mander of a Dutch fort against the encroachments of the Yankees the account says: "In the meantime, the protest of Van Curlet lay quietly on the table, where it served to light the pipes of the venerable sages assembled in council; and in the great smoke which they raised, the gallant Jacobus, his protest, and his mighty Fort Goed Hoop were soon as completely beclouded and forgotten as is a question of emergency swallowed up in the speeches and resolutions of a modern session of Congress." "Practical politicians" are discussed in connection with the public meetings held during the reign of William the Testy: "These popular meetings were generally held in some noted tavern, these public edifices possessing what in modern times are thought the true foundation of political inspiration. The ancient Greeks deliberated upon a matter when drunk, and reconsidered it when sober. Mob politicians in modern times dislike to have two minds upon a subject, so they both deliberate and act when drunk; by this means a world of delay is spared; and as it is universally allowed that a man when drunk sees double, it follows conclusively that he sees twice as well as his sober neighbors."

Treatment of the Indians by the white men, particularly the English, is bitterly attacked in John Neal's "Logan" (1822), but the treatment is rather too direct and earnest to be classed as satirical.

Paulding's "Konigsmarke" (1823) gives a picture of political conditions among the early Swedes along the Delaware River which resembles in a great many respects Irving's picture of Dutch life in New Amsterdam, and was undoubtedly largely inspired by the "History." Heer Piper is the governor who represents the Swedish crown in the settlement. Like the Dutch governors, he has a council; with this council he meets regularly, and then proceeds to do "just as he liked afterward, as practiced by the potent governors of that day," and, he implies, of a later day also. The leading member of this council is Wolfgang Langfanger, "who spent his money, and neglected his business, till at length he had not a rix-dollar left. . . . Still the dignity of his office supported him in the midst of his poverty; for, even at that time, it was possible for a great man to live sumptuously, and spend other people's money, without its being considered as any disparagement of his wonderful talents and honesty." Paulding devotes several chapters of the story to an account of the various attempts of Langfanger to "improve" the community of which he was so prominent a member. By repeated hints along the way we are informed that this is likewise a picture of more modern

conditions in other communities. Langfanger, having "brought his private affairs into great confusion, by devoting too much of his time to the public good, began . . . to think it high time the public good should repay some part of its weighty obligations. He had accordingly invented, and persuaded the Heer Piper to put into practice, a system of internal improvement, which has been imitated, from time to time, in this country, ever since, with great success. The essence of this plan consisted in running in debt for the present, and living afterward upon the anticipation of future wealth."

John Pendleton Kennedy has considerable satire in one of his novels,—"Swallow Barn" (1832), and, to a less extent, in another,—"Horseshoe Robinson" (1835). In the former the chief satire is directed against the more bitter opponents of slavery, but it is not itself bitter or polemic. Kennedy seems to have taken a very fair-minded attitude toward the problem and to have recognized that there were two sides to the question. Much more bitingly satirical, though less extensive than the other, is his picture of trial by jury. The county grand jury, in this particular case, "was sadly puzzled to find employment in any degree commensurate with the exaltedness of its function. It is said that the jurors revolved in their minds the whole list of national grievances. One party suggested the idea of presenting the established mode of electing the President of the United States as a grievance to the good people of the county; another thought of a formal denunciation of the Tariff; a few advocated an assault upon the Supreme Court. . . . After an hour's deliberation upon these various suggestions, they returned to the court room with a solitary bill, made out in due form against Jemmy; and, this matter constituting the sum total of their business for the term, they were thereupon discharged, with the thanks of the court for the able and vigilant administration of their inquisitorial duties." Jemmy was accused of drinking whiskey and inciting a riot at a camp-meeting. Although the prosecution proves rather conclusively by an eye-witness that the prisoner is guilty, his lawyer, half tipsy himself, has little difficulty in confusing the issue to such an extent that a verdict of not guilty is returned. Whereupon the lawyer for the defense takes the chief witness for the prosecution over to the hotel for a drink, and later says of him, "If the jury knew that man as well as I do, they would have believed every word he said. For there is not an honester fellow in the county. But I know how to work these juries."

The slight amount of satire to be found in "Horseshoe Robinson" is

directed against the Tories and the methods of warfare as practiced by the British in America. The satire is entirely that of situation. In general, however, the pictures are too realistic to be classed as satirical.

"The Partisan Leader" (1836), called by its author, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, "a tale of the future," purports to be a picture of conditions in the South in 1849 and the years immediately following. It assails the Yankees who wish to free the slaves; attacks Van Buren, who is represented as already elected to the Presidency, as a usurper and a tyrant, who tramples upon the constitution; and strives to prove that Virginia is justified in leaving the Union and is sure to succeed in her fight for freedom, the Southern army being pictured as capturing the City of Washington. It is altogether in the nature of a prophesy, based upon facts known to the writer in 1836. Parts of the prophesy were, as is usually the case with prophesies, fulfilled, but in its main point, the promised success of the secession movement, it failed. The following passage is typical of the whole: "An unexpected reaction had taken place between the spring elections and the recurrence of that *form* of presidential election in the fall, the observance of which was still deemed necessary to display, and, by displaying, to perpetuate the usurper's power. . . . For the first time, in twelve years, the vote of Virginia was recorded against the re-election of Martin Van Buren to the presidential throne." As a matter of fact Van Buren served but one term, 1837-1841. The attack, however, is aimed at Northern presidents in general, the implication being that Virginia, and the other Southern states, had practically no voice in the government, because of the North's "exercise of powers not granted by the constitution."

"James Fenimore Cooper, in several of his later novels, has a good deal of satire upon various economic and political conditions which he observed, or thought he observed, in America after his return from abroad. In the first of these, "The Monikins" (1835), monkeys are represented as having political sagacity superior to that of men, much after the same manner in which Swift pictures the Yahoos as being ruled over by the horse-like Houyhnhnms. As a satire, however, the book is far inferior to "Gulliver's Travels." In "Home As Found" (1838), and again in "The Chainbearer" (1845), Cooper severely satirizes the American reverence for majorities. For this purpose, in the former of these two books, he uses mainly two characters,—Mr. Aristabulus Bragg and Mr. John Effingham. Bragg is repre-

sented as an opportunist politician, who "considered everything that represented itself in the name of the public as sacred and paramount" and thought "half a dozen always in the right, as opposed to one." Into the mouth of Effingham, who is really Cooper speaking, he puts many ironic comments upon the actions of the "public." In one place he says: "The Americans are a set of resolutions-passing people. Three cannot get together without naming a chairman and a secretary, and a resolution is as much a consequence of such an organization—I believe that is the approved word—as an egg is the accompaniment of the cackling of a hen." And in another: "A change of administration, the upsetting of a stage, or the death of a cart-horse; they are all equally crises, in the American vocabulary." The idea of rule by the majority is much more severely satirized in "The Chainbearer." A good example of the method by which this is done is in the account of the manner in which the people of one community decide upon the denomination to which the church to be built shall belong. The concluding paragraph says: "Such were the facts attending the establishment of the Congregational church in the settlement of Ravensnest, on purely republican principles; the question having been carried unanimously in favor of that denomination, although fifty-two votes out of seventy-eight were pretty evidently opposed to it. But republican principles were properly maintained, and the matter was settled; the people having solemnly decided that they ardently wished for a church that in truth they did not desire at all." In "The Chainbearer," too, Cooper uses some satire in his picture of the patroons of the Hudson Valley and of the squatters who occupied some of their land. Cooper takes the side of the landlords, a fact not strange, in as much as he was himself a rather large landholder. "The Redskins" (1846) continues the discussion of the rent warfare, but little in the book can be classed as satire. "The Ways of the Hour" (1850) is almost entirely a satire upon trial by jury. The chief event in the story is the trial of Mary Monson for murder. The narrative is frequently interrupted by passages in which the author talks directly to the reader in denunciation of the jury system. There is, nevertheless, a great deal of rather clever satire in the account of the scenes which take place in the court room. For instance, in the picking of the jurors there is considerable challenging by the opposing lawyers. Both have had agents out to bias the opinions of prospective jurors. Each of the lawyers, therefore, strives to get his own men in and to exclude any whom he suspects

to be favorable to the opposing side. All sorts of tricks, subterfuges, and lies are resorted to during the trial. The jurors are represented as being swayed, not by the evidence, but by the baseless arguments of the lawyers, since few of them have any native ability or training which would enable them to judge what is important and what is not. The verdict is "guilty." Before sentence is pronounced, however, the prisoner is allowed to ask one of the witnesses a few questions, the answers to which establish her unquestionable innocence. The satire is to a large extent that of exaggeration of unfavorable details in the picture. Were the interpolated comments of the author omitted, the satire implied in the remainder would be strong and effective, but as it is, much of its forcefulness is lost.

"The Gilded Age" (1873), by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, is an extended satire upon the corrupt political conditions which prevailed in America following the Civil War. Historians generally agree in branding this as one of the most corrupt periods in our national history. Particularly is this true of the years of Grant's administration (1869-1877), the period with which the two volumes of the novel primarily deal. These were the days of the "boss" and the "ring," of wholesale graft and corruption in municipal and federal government. Much of the satire in the work centers around the leading figure, Colonel Sellers. This character, in spite of his grotesqueness, has many human traits, and in their delineation the authors satirize a great variety of people, of whose divers short-comings he is either the incarnation or the victim. The many financial and political schemes and vicissitudes of fortune of this interesting figure were common enough in the period pictured, and in ours. Congress comes in for frequent satirical consideration. In one case, Dilworthy, a United States Senator, has become interested with Sellers in a plan to get a large appropriation from Congress for the improvement of a worthless piece of country near the home of the latter. The account states that "the Senator possessed himself of the facts, not from his observation of the ground, but from the lips of Colonel Sellers, and laid the appropriation scheme away among his other plans for benefitting the public." Various other forms of graft are given attention. One is that connected with the building of the Capitol at Washington: "Gossips will tell you that by the original estimate it was to cost $12,000,000, and the government did come within $27,200,000 of building it for that sum." The matter of getting work in Washington at this time is commented upon as

follows: "Mere merit, fitness, and capacity are useless baggage to you without 'influence' . . . There is something good and motherly about Washington, the grand old benevolent National Asylum for the Helpless. The wages received by this great hive of employees are placed at the liberal figure meet and just for skilled and competent labor. Such of them as are immediately employed about the two Houses of Congress are not only liberally paid also, but are remembered in the customary Extra Compensation bill which slides neatly through, annually, with the general grab that signalizes the last night of a session, and thus twenty per cent. is added to their wages for—for fun, no doubt." In one place an estimate is given of the amounts of money which are considered necessary for the purchase of various influential legislators. A satire upon American politics in general is contained in the description of one of the prominent Congressmen, the Hon. Patrique Oreillé, a wealthy "French" immigrant from Cork: "Not that he was wealthy when he first came from Cork, but just the reverse. When he first landed in New York with his wife, he had only halted at Castle Garden for a few minutes to receive and exhibit papers showing that he had resided in this country two years—and then he voted the Democratic ticket and went up-town to hunt a house. . . . Industry and economy soon enabled him to start a low rum shop in a foul locality, and this gave him political influence. . . . The publicans and their retainers rule the ward meetings (for everybody else hates the worry of politics and stays at home); the delegates from the ward meetings organize as a nominating convention and make up a list of candidates—one convention offering a Democratic and another a Republican list of incorruptibles; and then the great meek public come forward at the proper time and make unhampered choice and bless heaven that they live in a free land where no form of despotism can ever intrude. . . . Mr. O'Riley furnished shingle nails for the new court house at three thousand dollars a keg, and eighteen gross of 60-cent thermometers at fifteen hundred dollars a dozen." One is constantly impressed by the keenness of the thrusts and by the resemblances of the pictures to modern conditions, especially as regards the government of our larger cities.

Elizabeth Phelps Ward's "The Silent Partner" (1871) is definitely an attack upon conditions in the mill districts of New England, particularly Massachusetts. It is, however, too direct, too much in earnest, in general,

to be classed as satire, though there are satirical elements in the descriptions of conditions in the mills, in the homes of the workers, and in the places where they spend their evenings and in the conversations of Perley, the leading character, with other persons in the story.

Howells, in his characteristic manner, slips a few words of satire into his description of New York in "Their Wedding Journey" (1872): "I don't think the world affords another such sight; and for one moment, at such times, I'd have been willing to be an Irish councilman, that I might have some right to the pride I feel in the capital of the Irish republic. What a fine thing it must be for each victim of six centuries of oppression to reflect that he owns at least a dozen Americans, and that, with his fellows, he rules a hundred helpless millionaires."

An extended piece of economic satire is Howells' "A Traveler from Altruria" (1894). The Altrurian, who is called Mr. Homos, is used to a socialistic regime in his own country and cannot understand what seem to him great injustices in our ideas of government and economic adjustments. Through Homos Howells is able to criticize a wide variety of established conventions. For instance, the traveler is made to question why, since we broke away from England and wrote into our Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal, we still persist in having ranks and classes; why school-teachers, who are well educated and who are working in the summer hotels as waitresses, are considered as inferiors; why Americans, who, he had supposed, were opposed to aristocracy, should be so eager to inter-marry with the European nobility; why the women, since they are generally better schooled, more cultivated, and more thoughtful than the men, are given so small a part in the conduct of public affairs. Having been told that the men, as well as the women, come to the summer resorts to rest, he says: "I am glad that your business and professional men are beginning to realize the folly and wickedness of overwork. Shall I find some of your other weary workers here, too? . . . . Your mechanics and day-laborers, your iron-moulders and glass-blowers, your miners and farmers, your printers and mill-operatives, your trainmen and quarry-hands? Or do they prefer to go to resorts of their own?" Howells has a banker, a manufacturer, and a professor of political economy give their definitions of the first principle of business: "An enlightened conception of one's interests;" "The good of Number One, first, last, and all the

time;" "Buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest." Through these three men, and a preacher, Howells satirizes big business in general, especially its greed and its disregard of the higher ideals of human conduct. A final bit of very keen satire is brought in near the end of the book, where an old farmer, after the Altrurian has discussed at length the frightful conditions in his own country before the old order passed away, remarks: "When are you goin' to get to Altrury? We know all about Ameriky."

Francis Marion Crawford's "An American Politician" (1884) contains several satirical pictures of political situations in the United States in the late seventies and early eighties. The two things hit most heavily are the activities of the Irish political boss and the condition of the civil service. The former is satirized through the discussion of the political activities of a Mr. Patrick Ballymalloy, who is represented as controlling twenty votes in the State Legislature and consequently as having the power of putting whom he pleases in the United States Senate. Over against him is placed John Harrington, who loses the Senatorship rather than desert his ideals. Ballymalloy's personal appearance is described, in part, as follows: "Mr. Ballymalloy's nose was an astonishing feature . . . It was one of the most surprising feats of nature's alchemy that a liquid so brown as that contained in the decanters on Patrick's sideboard should be able to produce and maintain anything so supernaturally red as Patrick's nose. Mr. Ballymalloy was clad in a beautiful suit of shiny black broadcloth, and the front of his coat was irregularly but richly adorned with a profusion of grease spots of all sizes. A delicate mezzotint shaded the edges of his collar and cuffs, and from his heavy gold watch-chain depended a malachite seal of unusual greenness and brilliancy." More severe than the satire employed in this connection, is that aimed at the "spoils system" as applied to public office. For this Crawford uses Harrington largely as a mouthpiece. Harrington says in one place: "We are doing a great business, and to all intents and purposes we are doing it on false business principles, and with an absolutely incompetent staff of clerks. What would you think of a merchant who dismissed all of his book-keepers every four years, and engaged a set of shoe-makers, or tailors, or artists to fill up the vacancies? . . . We choose schoolboys to do the work of men, we expect that by the mere signature of the head of the executive any man can be turned into an ac-

complished public officer fit to be compared with one whose whole life has been spent in public service. . . . We select as our ministers a number of gentlemen who in most cases have never read a diplomatic despatch in their lives, and who sometimes are not even acquainted with any language save their own. . . . Our public officers are inexperienced men who spend four years learning a trade not theirs, and are generally turned out before they have half learnt it."

The most thorough attempt which has been made in fiction to set forth the wrongs of the Indian in later years is Helen Hunt Jackson's "Ramona" (1884). In this case again, however, as in that of several other novels previously mentioned, the treatment is rather too direct, too serious, too sincere to allow of the work's being regarded as a satire. Rather, it is invective, and decidedly bitter and powerful invective.

Two other novels which border upon satire but which are too realistic to be truly satiric are Frank Norris' "The Octopus" (1901) and "The Pit" (1902). The former represents the railroad trust, the octopus, as a huge, ugly creature whose tentacles reach out to every corner of the country and seize whatever it desires. "The Pit" is a biting arraignment of stock gambling in foods, particularly as exemplified by the Chicago Board of Trade. As the figure of the octopus is carried out in the one work, that of a great whirlpool is made the background for the other. Outside of the use of these two figures, the treatment is almost entirely direct and so is removed from the field of satire.

Margaret Deland, in "The House of Rimmon" (1904) and, to a less extent, in "The Iron Woman" (1911), attacks the ideals and methods of big business, much in the same manner as does Mrs. Ward in "The Silent Partner." Again, however, the treatment is too direct for satire.

Winston Churchill's "Coniston" (1906) is, like "The Gilded Age," a picture of the corrupt political conditions which reached their climax during the years of Grant's administration. Grant himself is one of the characters in the book, though a minor one. The opening paragraph of the book gives an idea of the matter which follows: "The Era of the first six Presidents had closed, and a new era had begun. I am speaking of political Eras. Certain gentlemen, with a pious belief in democracy, but with a firmer determination to get on top, arose,—and got on top. So many of

these gentlemen arose in the different states, and they were so clever, and they found so many chinks in the Constitution to crawl through and steal the people's chestnuts, that the era was called the Boss-Era. After the Boss came along certain Things without souls, but of many minds, and found more chinks in the Constitution: bigger chinks, for the Things were bigger, and they stole more chestnuts." These Things were chiefly corporations, the most important being the railroads. The chief character in the story is Jethro Bass, an uneducated and uncultured tanner. Bass, by cleverness and trickery, becomes boss of the state, and makes and breaks men almost at will. Legislatures pass laws in accordance with his wishes, and corporations come to him for aid in getting bills passed. The highest office Bass ever holds is that of Chairman of the Selectmen in the little town of Coniston, but his power is sufficient to place one of his favorites in the gubernatorial chair. His reward for all of this is measured in thousands of dollars and in the joy which comes from the wielding of power over men. The satire is partly that of situation, but much is contained in the stammering words of Bass himself.

As stated in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, the Irish politician has been treated satirically in a number of American novels. Even as early as Brackenridge's "Modern Chivalry," it is an Irishman, Teague, who serves as the chief medium for presenting the satire, and it is an Irishman who gets a seat in the state legislature by the assistance of his two kegs of whiskey. In "The Gilded Age" of Mark Twain and Warner the Irish politician is scathingly satirized for his corruption of municipal and federal government. Howells satirizes the Irish boss in "Their Wedding Journey," and Crawford in "An American Politician." With the exception of Howells, who merely inserts an ironical sentence or two, these writers satirize the Irish politicians as a whole by presenting a typical specimen and holding him up to ridicule.

Early settlers are satirized in several of the pre-Civil War stories. Irving laughs good-naturedly at the follies and foibles of the Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam. Lemuel Sawyer, in "Printz Hall," takes a more antagonistic view toward them, and pictures a treacherous, cruel side, entirely lacking in the delineations of Irving. Paulding's "Konigsmarke" gives a rather satirical picture of the Swedish colonists along the Delaware River, much after the manner of Irving.

Treatment of the Indians by the white settlers is bitterly arraigned in a number of novels. The method employed in several of these, however, is not satire but invective. In this class belong John Neal's "Logan," Paulding's "Konigsmarke" and "The Dutchman's Fireside," and Helen Hunt Jackson's "Ramona." Of these four by far the most important is "Ramona." "Logan" is almost entirely a defense of the ways of the Indian and an attack upon the English persecution of him. Paulding's two novels have passages relating to the attempts of the whites to Christianize the Indians, at the same time furnishing them with liquor with which to degrade themselves. "Ramona" is avowedly an attack upon the injustices which in later days have been the lot of the Indian tribes in theWest, particularly in California. What is more truly satire is to be found in Irving's "History," Brackenridge's "Modern Chivalry" and Mark Twain's and Warner's "Gilded Age." In the "History" the satire is first directed at the early Spanish settlers and their cruelty, and then later at the Dutchmen and their trickery. Misappliance of federal appropriations for Indian affairs is sharply satirized in "Modern Chivalry" and "The Gilded Age."

Kennedy's "Swallow Barn" and Tucker's "Partisan Leader" present the Southern side of the slavery question, at the same time attacking the Northern attitude. The satire is almost entirely that of situation and is much more pronounced in Tucker's work than in the other.

Democratic government, as exemplified in the United States, is treated satirically, in widely differing ways, by Cooper and Howells. Cooper, while constantly asserting his enthusiastic support of American institutions in general, takes occasion in several of his novels to attack the idea of rule by the majority, particularly in "The Monikins," "Home as Found," and "The Chainbearer." Howells, on the other hand, in his "A Traveler from Altruria," attacks the lack of democratic principles in much of our economic and political life and advocates the establishment of a more socialistic state.

Trial by jury is criticized satirically in Brackenridge's "Modern Chivalry," Kennedy's "Swallow Barn," and Cooper's "The Ways of the Hour." The satire is largely incidental in the first two, but Cooper's work is almost wholly satire.

The extremely corrupt political conditions which followed the Civil War are pictured especially in "The Gilded Age," "An American Poli-

tician," and Winston Churchill's "Coniston." All three of these novels are largely satires.

Unjust economic conditions are sharply attacked in Mrs. Ward's "The Silent Partner," Frank Norris' "The Octopus" and "The Pit," and Mrs. Deland's "The House of Rimmon" and "The Iron Woman." As previously stated, however, these novels are more accurately described as invective.

## CHAPTER IV.

## SATIRE UPON RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Satire upon religious conditions is much less frequent and less significant than that upon social or political and economic conditions. The Catholics, the Puritans, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Spiritualists, especially the last-named, are the chief objects of the satirists' attention. There seem to be three common reasons why these sects have been attacked more often than others. In each case there is a strong belief, with a rather definite creed. The result is that the satirist may find in their followers more examples than elsewhere of intolerance, real and fancied. Because of the definiteness of the creed, satire is easier, since there is a more tangible mark at which to aim. And, again, because of the strength and definiteness of the belief, lapses on the part of its adherents are more conspicuous and hypocrisy is more easily recognized.

The first important satire in the American novel upon a religious matter is to be found in Irving's "History of New York" (1809). Here he takes occasion to satirize the Catholic Church in connection with his discussion of the right of the Europeans to take possession of the New World. He writes: "The most important branch of civilization and which has most strenuously been extolled by the zealous and pious fathers of the Romish Church, is the introduction of the Christian faith. It was truly a sight that might inspire horror, to behold these savages tumbling among the dark mountains of paganism, and guilty of the most horrible ignorance of religion. It is true they neither stole nor defrauded; they were sober, frugal, continent, and faithful to their word; but though they acted right habitually, it was all in vain, unless they acted so from precept. The newcomers, therefore, used every method to induce them to embrace and practice the true religion, except indeed that of setting them the example. . . . So zealous were they to effect the temporal comfort and eternal salvation of these pagan infidels, that they even proceeded from the milder means of persuasion to the more painful and troublesome one of persecution,—let loose

among them whole troops of fiery monks and furious bloodhounds,—purified them by fire and sword, by stake and fagot, in consequence of which indefatigable measures the cause of Christian love and charity was so rapidly advanced, that in a few years not one-fifth of the number of unbelievers existed in South America that were found there at the time of its discovery." On several other occasions during the remainder of the chapter Irving refers satirically to the pope and his actions in relation to the discovery and settlement of the new country.

Later in the "History" Irving satirizes the Puritan belief in witchcraft in several such passages as the following: "It is incredible the number of offences that were detected, 'for every one of which,' says the reverend Cotton Mather, . . . 'we have such a sufficient evidence, that no reasonable man in this whole country ever did question them.' The number of the delinquents, however, and their magical devices, were not more remarkable than their diabolical obstinacy. Though exhorted in the most solemn, persuasive, and affectionate manner to confess themselves guilty, and be burnt for the good of religion and the entertainment of the public, yet did they most pertinaciously persist in asserting their innocence."

In "Konigsmarke" (1823) Paulding satirizes belief in witchcraft, through "Bombie of the Frizzled Head," the old colored mammy servant of Governor Piper; the satire here, however, is not aimed at the Puritans. More important is the satirical picture which Paulding paints of a certain type of preacher in the character Domine Kanttwell. Of him he says in one passage: "He held up all the surplus earnings of the poor, as well as all laying up for the future, to be little better than a distrusting of Providence; taking every opportunity to assure his flock, that it was their duty to work hard all the week, shun all sorts of amusements and indulgences, and devote all they could earn to the good of the church, and the comfort of the parson. . . . On one occasion, the only child of a poor widow happened to be drowned in paddling a boat on the river, on the Sabbath morning. The Domine immediately visited the afflicted parent, and comforted her with the assurance of its being a judgment upon her for not sending the boy to church." Touches are added to the picture from time to time as the story progresses, the Domine being made one of the chief characters in the book.

Hawthorne is the severest satirist of the Puritans. His attack is

directed principally at their intolerance. There are mingled satire and invective against believers in witchcraft in the opening chapter of "The House of Seven Gables" (1851), in which is given an account of the execution of Matthew Maule, who just before his death says of Colonel Pyncheon, one of his chief persecutors, "God will give him blood to drink." The harsh, intolerant attitude of the early Puritans is severely satirized in "The Scarlet Letter" (1850). The satire is chiefly that of situation, though there is a number of passages of more direct satire, as in the description of Governor Billingham and those who sit with him to watch Hester Prynne ascend the platform whereon she is to exhibit the marks of her shame, or, later, of Hester's feelings as she passes along the street with the scarlet letter on her breast: "Sometimes the red infamy on her breast would give a sympathetic throb, as she passed near a venerable minister or magistrate, the model of piety and justice, to whom that age of antique reverence looked up, as to a mortal man in fellowship with angels. 'What evil thing is at hand?' would Hester say to herself. Lifting her reluctant eyes, there would be nothing human within the scope of her view, save the form of this earthly saint." Underneath the whole story is the idea that human punishment for sin is futile.

Hawthorne's sharpest satire against the Puritans, however, is in the short story "The Gentle Boy." Ilbrahim's father has been hanged during the persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans, and the homeless orphan boy is a lone watcher in the wood where the execution has taken place. Here he is discovered by Tobias Pearson, who takes the boy by the hand and asks why he is there. At the boy's answer, "the Puritan, who had laid hold of little Ilbrahim's hand, relinquished it as if he were touching a loathsome reptile. But he possessed a compassionate heart, which not even religious prejudice could harden into stone." He takes the child home, where, to his wife's surprised inquiry, he replies: "No, Dorothy, this child is no captive from the wilderness. The heathen savage would have given him to eat of his scanty morsel, and to drink of his birchen cup; but Christian men, alas, had cast him out to die." Because of their taking pity on the lad, Pearson and his wife are ostracised from the rest of the community in which they have lived in peace and industry so long. In the church, "many a stern man arose, and turned his stern and repulsive countenance upon the gentle boy, as if the sanctuary were polluted by his

presence. He was a sweet infant of the skies that had strayed from his home, and all the inhabitants of this miserable world closed their impure hearts against him, drew back their earth-soiled garments from his touch, and said, 'We are holier than thou.' "

In "The Blithedale Romance" (1852) Hawthorne mildly satirizes Spiritualism. He speaks of exhibitions which have been given by a person who went under the name of the Veiled Lady. The account goes on to say: "She was a phenomenon in the mesmeric line—one of the earliest that had indicated the birth of a new science or the revival of an old humbug. . . . All of the arts of mysterious arrangement, of picturesque disposition, and artistically contrasted light and shade were made available to set the apparent miracle in the strongest attitude of ordinary force." A rather satirical description is given later of one of this lady's performances.

Very definite satire upon Spiritualism is contained in Bayard Taylor's "Hannah Thurston" (1863). This is to be found chiefly in the description of a "seance" by a reputed medium, Mr. Dyce. Bute, an unbeliever who is present, employs an original scheme to test the truth of the matter. To another skeptic, Mr. Woodbury, he thus describes the trick which he has played on the medium: "He done all the strikin' there was done tonight. . . . You see I suspicioned they'd git Angeliny's spirut to playin' on the pyanna, like th' other time I was there. Thinks I, I've a notion how it's done. . . . So afore comin' into the settin'-room, I jist went through the kitchen, and stood a while on the hearth, to warm my feet, like. I run one arm up the chimbley, when nobody was lookin', and rubbed my hand full o' soft sut. Then I set in the corner, and held my arm behind me over the back o' the cheer, till the candle was took out. . . . Quick as a wink I slips up to the pyanna . . . and rubbed my sutty hand very quietly over the black keys. . . . When the lights come back, there he was, solemn enough, with a black eye, ha! ha! I couldn't git a sight of his hand, though; he shet his fist and kep' it under the table."

Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer" (1876) contains considerable satire upon the type of preacher and Sunday school superintendent that Tom is compelled to listen to. Concerning the prayers of the former we have the following: "A good generous prayer it was, and went into details." Nearly a page is taken up with a list of these details. And of Tom meanwhile: "He kept tally of the details of the prayer, unconsciously—for he was not listen-

ing, but he knew the ground of old, and the clergyman's regular route over it." After the prayer, "the minister gave out his text and droned along monotonously through an argument that . . . dealt in limitless fire and brimstone and thinned the predestined elect down to a company so small as to be hardly worth saving."

Mark Twain's "American Claimant" (1892) is to a large extent a satire upon Spiritualism. A good part of the plot centers around the "control" which Colonel Sellers and Washington Hawkins think they exercise over Lord Berkley, whom they suppose to be a spirit they have called back from the other world. Through the picture of their extravagant actions in this connection the author ridicules the whole idea of spiritualism. The satire is almost wholly that of situation, Mark Twain's ability at caricature being brought into full play.

One of the two most extensive satires in American fiction upon Spiritualism is Howells' "The Undiscovered Country" (1880). The other is Alice Brown's "Fools of Nature" (1887). Of these the former is much the more artistic. The chief character in "The Undiscovered Country" is a Dr. Boynton, at first a strong believer in Spiritualism. His daughter, Egeria, over whom he has a strong mesmeric power, he uses and nearly kills in his experiments. In the end he becomes convinced of the erroneousness of his beliefs, and Howells then uses him as a medium for his attacks upon the whole system.

In "Fools of Nature," a "Professor" Riker is represented as getting control of a simple-minded country lad, Leonard, whom he uses to increase his own rather lucrative business as a medium. The boy is sincere in believing that he has communion with the spirit of a "gray lady." Riker is pictured as a thorough hypocrite and villain, who realizes he is practicing a fake upon the public, but finds it an easy way to make a living. At the end, when he finds that Leonard can be of no more use to him, he tells him that his whole life has been a lie and that Spiritualism is all a deception.

Edgar Watson Howe, in his "The Story of a Country Town" (1883), draws a satirical picture of the effects of a stern Calvinistic belief upon the lives of the people of a struggling Middle Western town, where mothers are forbidden to show affection toward their children and where dogma and fear take the place of love and hope. The satire centers around the Rev.

John Westlock, who, after building up a reputation for integrity and godliness by his unremitting toil in the field and the pulpit, breaks his wife's heart and ruins his own life by running away with a vulgar and hypocritical female "reformer." The book is decidedly not a pleasant one to read; it surrounds one from the first with an atmosphere of impending disaster; but at the same time it grips one with the relentless, inescapable power of its narrative. The satire is an acrid yeast which leavens the whole.

Margaret Deland discusses religious questions to a large extent in her novels and short stories, but there is little of this discussion that can be classed as satire. Rather, she presents both sides, without expressing very much of her own opinion. In a few cases, however, she seems to be definitely satirical, as in "John Ward, Preacher" (1888). Here John Ward is represented in one instance as calling upon a woman, Mrs. Davis, whose husband is lying dead in the room. Tom Davis and some companions, while drinking and smoking in a lumber yard, had accidentally set the lumber on fire. All escaped, but Tom went back to look for a child he had noticed playing about the piles and received burns which resulted in his death. Ward says to the widow: "He sends this grief to you in his infinite wisdom. He loves you,—He knows best." The scene closes with Mrs. Davis speaking: " 'I don't want no good as comes that way. Oh, preacher, you ain't going to say you think my Tom's burning in hell-fire this night, and me living to be made better by it? Oh, no, no, no!' . . . But the presence of that dead man asserted the hopelessness of John's creed; no human pity could dim his faith, and he had no words of comfort for the distracted woman." To Helen Ward, John's wife, who calls upon Mrs. Davis soon afterward, she says: "He never give Tom a chance, an' how am I goin' to love him now? Tom born, as you might say, drinkin'. His father died in a drunken fit, and his mother give it to her baby with her milk. . . . I can't love Him. Him havin' all the power, and yet lettin' Tom's soul go down to hell." To which Helen replies: "God could not punish him eternally for being what he had to be, born as he was, and living as he did. . . . As long as a soul lives it has a chance for goodness, a chance to turn to God. There is no such place as hell!" Satire upon the "blue Presbyterian" doctrines of eternal punishment is put into the mouths of other characters also. Gifford Woodhouse remarks in one place: "Somebody says that when the Calvinists decided upon sulphur they did not know the properties

of caustic potash." Such a thrust as this shows satire at its best. Another character in the book, Alfaretta, says of Helen Ward: "The Lord don't send no one to hell, let alone such as her. An' any way, I'd rather go to the bad place with her than stay with all the golden harps and crowns in the best sort of heaven with them as would keep her out." Elder Dean, also speaking of Helen, says: "Many's the time I've explained how every other sort of religion is all wrong, and of its father the Devil. . . . She's a corrupter of youth, she's a teacher of false doctrines—her tellin' Mrs. Davis there wasn't any hell! she's a—a Episcopalian, so she is!" On another occasion Dean says to John Ward: "I've sometimes wondered, if, of late, you had given us enough sound doctrine in the pulpit, sir? The milk of the Word we can get out of the Bible for ourselves, but doctrines, they ain't to be found in Holy Writ as they ought to be preached."

Much the same sort of satire occurs in Mrs. Deland's "The House of Rimmon" (1908), which has this to say of a Reverend Silas Eaton: "Well, well, he was a good man—a good Presbyterian, at any rate. And now he has gone to find the God whom he had defamed and villified under the name of religion, imputing to him meanness and cruelty and revenge—the passions of his own poor human nature. And may that God have mercy on his soul!"

In her short story "Where the Laborers Are Few" (1898), the idea of doctrines is again satirized, in a speech of Paul, a roving acrobat and evangelist: "I guess you ladies don't need my kind of preaching; you're way up above that, you know. You're all ready to hear about the Trinity, and how much a cubit is, and what a centurion is, and free will—and all those things. If I ever get my education and know 'em, I'll invite you to come to my church. But now I'll just have to stick to the gospel, I guess."

F. Marion Crawford, in "Katherine Lauderdale" (1894), has some slight satire upon a belief in hell-fire, predestination, and the wickedness of most forms of earthly pleasure. One passage, for example, says of Katherine Lauderdale: "The unbending, manly quality of the Presbyterian belief attracted her by its strength—the courage a man must have to go through life facing an almost inevitable hell for himself and the certainty of irrevocable damnation for most of those dearest to him. If her father was in earnest, as he appeared to be, he could not have the slightest hope that her mother could be saved."

Dogma, as opposed to Christian service, is severely satirized in Elizabeth Phelps Ward's "A Singular Life" (1894). Emanuel Bayard, who has been graduated from a prominent theological seminary but who has failed of appointment to a large, fashionable church because he refuses to profess belief in all the orthodox teachings of the denomination, founds a mission in a former saloon and sets about helping and teaching the rough, hard-drinking fishermen and sailors whom the aristocratic churches never reach. The satire of the book is summed up in a conversation between Bayard and a classmate, Fenton, who has been chosen for the church for which Bayard had formerly been considered, a conversation wherein Bayard bitterly attacks the teachings of the seminaries and the big churches—"predestination, foreordination, sanctification, election, and botheration,—and never a lesson on the Christian socialism of our day, not a lecture to tell us how to save a poor, lost woman, how to reform a drunkard, what to do with gamblers and paupers and thieves . . . who never see the inside of a church."

A great deal of religious satire is contained in Harold Frederic's "The Damnation of Theron Ware" (1896). Though the satire is chiefly of the Methodists, the Catholics and the Presbyterians come in for a smaller share. At the outset of the story, the First M. E. Church of Tecumseh is striving to secure the services of the Rev. Theron Ware, in order that they may wage more successful warfare against the Presbyterian church in the town. The former boasted that "they belonged to the substantial order of the community, with perhaps not so many very rich men as the Presbyterians had, but on the other hand with far fewer extremely poor folk than the Baptists were encumbered with. The pews in the first four rows of their church rented for one hundred dollars apiece,—quite up to the Presbyterian highwater mark,—and they now had almost abolished free pews altogether." To the great disappointment, however, of the Tecumseh church and of Mr. Ware and his young wife he is sent to a very small and very undesirable position elsewhere. Here his rather weak spirit is gradually broken and a promising career ends in failure and disgrace. One of the chief forces in his "damnation" is the board of trustees of his church, who retain their positions largely by virtue of the fact that each of the three holds a mortgage against the church. The worldliness and hypocrisy of two of these are especially satirized.

Winston Churchill's "The Inside of the Cup" is primarily a religious satire. The satire centers around a Reverend Mr. Hodder, who has been secured for the pulpit of a large and fashionable city church and who appears to be proving very successful and entirely satisfactory—till he expresses something of his own mind and feelings in his words and actions; then he is forced from his position, and he goes to the work among the poor which seems to him to be truly Christian. In a conversation with Langmaid, after his resignation has been asked, Hodder says, regarding the function of his church: "Is it not an increasingly futile effort to bring the influences of religion—of superstition, if you will—to bear on the so-called lower classes in order that they may remain contented with their lot, with that station and condition in the world where—it is argued—it has pleased God to call them? If that were not so, in my opinion there are very few of the privileged classes who would invest a dollar in the Church. And the proof of it is that if the clergyman raises his voice to proclaim the true message of Christianity they are up in arms with the cry of socialism. They have the sense to see that their privileges are immediately threatened."

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the chief religious beliefs and practices satirized are those of the Catholics, the Puritans, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Spiritualists.

Irving is the only writer of importance who has satirized the Catholics to any extent. His attack is aimed almost altogether at the persecution of the Indians by the Spaniards during the early years of exploration and colonization. His satire is expressed in ironical comments intermingled with his narrative.

The intolerance of the Puritans and their persecution of "witches" and Quakers are severely satirized by Hawthorne, chiefly in "The Scarlet Letter," "The House of Seven Gables," and "The Gentle Boy." Irving, also, in his "History of New York," and Paulding, in "Konigsmarke," have some biting references to the Puritan believers in witchcraft. Of these three Hawthorne is by far the most important, from the standpoint of both quantity and quality. He makes the Puritan intolerance and harshness outstanding features in the setting for his stories, and they give a sombre, repellent atmosphere to the action, whereas in the case of Irving and Paulding the satire is incidental and relatively unimportant.

The doctrines of the Presbyterians regarding predestination and future punishment are very frequently the source of seemingly very hot anger in the hearts of the novelists, anger which is voiced in what is oftentimes extremely bitter satire. In this respect Mrs. Deland is the leader. Two of her stories, particularly, "John Ward, Preacher" and "The House of Rimmon"—strongly assail the belief in hell and the certainty of future punishment for earthly sin. Mrs. Ward's "A Singular Life" is also largely a satire upon Presbyterian theology. Less pointed satire occurs in Howe's "Story of a Country Town," Crawford's "Katherine Lauderdale," and Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer." Much the same criticism as made of Hawthorne in the preceding paragraph applies also to Mrs. Deland, and, to a less extent, to Mrs. Ward. Each of the three above-mentioned novels by these two writers is a purpose novel, and the satire is an intrinsic part of its framework. In the novels by Howe, Crawford, and Mark Twain the matter of religious belief plays a less conspicuous part.

The Methodists are rather sharply satirized by Harold Frederic, though he attacks, not so much the doctrines of Methodism, as the cant, bigotry, and hypocrisy which might be as true of almost any other denomination as of Methodists.

Spiritualism, as stated earlier, has been satirized more extensively than any of the other four. Such novels as Howells' "Undiscovered Country" and Alice Brown's "Fools of Nature" are completely given over to satire upon Spiritualism. The same is true of a large part of Taylor's "Hannah Thurston" and Mark Twain's "The American Claimant." In all four cases the satire is chiefly that of situation, the alleged falsity of the doctrines of Spiritualism being revealed either through the instrumentality of non-believers at some seance or through the words of some of the supposed adherents to the faith.

The failure of the modern big city church really to improve the lives of those either inside or outside its pews is satirized sharply in Mrs. Ward's "A Singular Life" and Churchill's "The Inside of the Cup." The satire in both cases is largely that of situation, the whole book being given to a consideration of the problem.

## CHAPTER V.

## SATIRE UPON LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

Although the satire upon literature and the press is widely scattered and relatively unimportant, it ought to receive consideration in a discussion of this character. Those American novelists who deserve attention in this connection are Irving, Paulding, Cooper, Mark Twain, Warner, and Howells. Of these five Paulding has put into his novels most criticism on literature, and Cooper most on the press.

Irving, in his "History of New York" (1809) takes a few good-natured shots at historians in general. Writing of the theories concerning the way in which America first became inhabited by human beings, he says: "From all the authorities here quoted, and a variety of others which I have consulted, but which are omitted through fear of fatiguing the unlearned reader, I can only draw the following conclusions, which luckily, however, are sufficient for my purpose. First, that this part of the world has actually been peopled, to support which we have living proofs in the numerous tribes of Indians that inhabit it. Secondly, that it has been peopled in five hundred different ways, as proved by a cloud of authors, who, from the positiveness of their assertions, seem to have been eyewitnesses to the fact." In another place he writes: "If ever I am able to finish this work on the plan I have commenced, it will be found that I have pursued the latest rules of my art, as exemplified in the writings of all the great American historians, and wrought a very large history out of a small subject,—which, nowadays, is considered one of the great triumphs of historic skill."

Paulding, in "Konigsmarke" (1823), devotes a great deal of space to satirical comment upon what he conceives to be the great faults in the writing of his time. The introductory chapter to each of the nine books which make up the novel is a confidential "aside" to the reader in which the author discusses his own style and methods and those of other writers. In the introduction to Book II he discourses upon the value of writing extempore, without plan or pattern: "It may in truth be affirmed of this new and happy

mode of writing, that it very often happens, that it causes less trouble to the author than to the reader, the latter of whom not infrequently, most especially if he is one of those unreasonable persons who suppose that nature and probability are necessary parts of an historical novel, will be sorely puzzled to find out the motive of the action, or the means by which it was brought about. . . . We should not be at all surprised if, under the increased facilities afforded by this happy invention of the extempore, every person should in time become his own author, and furnish his own library, at the expense of paper and printing only; and without any trouble of thought whatever." The opening chapter of Book VII deals with "the great value of dukes and earls in novel writing." The author states that: "It is quite impossible for our readers to conceive a tenth part of the yearnings we have endured in the course of this work, in consequence of not having been able, without commiting some unpardonable violence, to introduce to their acquaintance and familiarity a single titled person. . . . This incapacity we consider a most serious misfortune, inasmuch as most novel writers, we mean those who aspire to the notice and approbation of the 'beau monde,' may be said to be in the predicament of certain insignificant people, who derive their sole consequence from the company they affect to keep, and to which they take occasion to introduce their friends." Later he says in the same connection: "We are obliged to confess, that Indian monarchs, provincial governors, nay, our good friend William Penn himself . . . are but poor substitutes for dukes and earls, whose very titles tickle the fancy so delightfully, that the reader seems all the while swimming in an ocean of peacock's feathers." In the introduction to the closing book Paulding turns his attention to the romantic poets: "Many poets, it is true, have lately written verses entirely destitute of all meaning, and remarkable for a childish simplicity, very edifying to exceedingly small children; but, with great reverence be it spoken, they have never been able to reach the perfection of Mother Goose in these respects." Of the authors of romantic fiction he says: "Some of our readers may, in like manner, find fault with us, in that our mottoes in general have no more application to the subject matter of the chapter, the nature of which they are supposed to indicate, than the texts of certain preachers have to their sermons. Now we frankly confess that this is entirely intentional, and with a view to produce an addition to the perplexity of the reader. . . . And in this we are fully

justified by the examples of many popular writers of the present school of romance, whose sole object in selecting their mottoes, is evidently to mislead the reader, and thus increase his delight in finding the contents of the chapter exactly what he did not anticipate." Of the necessity which some authors appeared to be under of writing works of not "more than two volumes, containing a certain number of pages," he says: "There is some occult mystery in the thing, which we leave to the five hundred commentators of Shakespeare, to elucidate into greater obscurity. . . . The unlucky author, and the still more unlucky reader, are after all the real victims. The former is obliged to use all the arts of his profession, not in bringing his story to a catastrophe, but in preventing it from, as it were, running ashore before the voyage is concluded. . . . Various indeed are the shifts and expedients to which the unfortunate author is obliged to resort, to spin out the requisite number of pages. He must record the most minute and insignificant particulars, and leave nothing to the imagination of the reader."

Cooper has many jibes at the American press in "Homeward Bound" (1838). Steadfast Dodge, an unprincipled, cowardly hypocrite, is represented as being the usual type of American newspaperman. Eve Effingham, another character, speaking of him says: "Monsieur Blunt leans nearer to the side of cousin Jack, I fear, than to that of my dear father. He says that men of Mr. Dodge's character, propensities, ignorance, vulgarity, and peculiar vices abound in and about the American press. He even insists that they do an incalculable amount of harm, by influencing those who have no better sources of information; by setting up low jealousies and envy in the place of principles and the right; . . . by substituting uninstructed provincial notions for the true taste and liberality; by confounding the real principles of liberty with personal envies, and the jealousies of station; and by losing sight entirely of their duties to the public, in the effort to advance their own interests. He says that the American government is in truth a press-ocracy, and a press-ocracy, too, that has not the redeeming merit of either principles, tastes, talents or knowledge." The whole story bears out the thought that Cooper is here expressing his own opinion of the American press. In "Home as Found" (1838), the sequel to "Homeward Bound," Mr. Dodge is represented as publishing an account of which "in the way of facts not one was faithfully stated; and there were several deliberate, unmitigated falsehoods which went essentially to color the whole account." Later

the reader is told that "the press, throughout the country, seized with avidity on anything that helped to fill its columns. No one appeared disposed to inquire into the truth of the account, or after the character of the original authority. It was in print, and that struck the great majority of the editors and their readers as a sufficient sanction."

In the preface to "The Gilded Age" (1873) the authors, Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, give their opinion of critics, a rather sarcastic one: "We do not object to criticism; and we do not expect that the critic will read the book before writing a notice of it. We do not even expect the reviewer of the book will say that he has read it. No, we have no anticipations of anything unusual in this age of criticism. But if the Jupiter who passes his opinion on the novel ever happens to peruse it in some weary moment of his subsequent life, we hope that he will not be the victim of a remorse bitter but too late."

Again, in the preface to "The American Claimant" (1892), Mark Twain satirizes the over-use of weather in novel-writing. He says, in this connection: "No weather will be found in this book. This is an attempt to pull a book through without weather. It being the first attempt of the kind in fictitious literature, it may prove a failure, but it seemed worth the while of some dare-devil person to try it, and the author was in just the mood. . . . So it has seemed wisest to borrow such weather as is necessary for the book from qualified and recognized experts—giving credit, of course. This weather will be found over in the back part of the book, out of the way. See Appendix. The reader is requested to turn over and help himself from time to time as he goes along."

Warner, in one of the early chapters of "That Fortune" (1899), satirizes the modern newspaper "story" through the confessions of a young reporter, Mr. Brad. He makes such comments as: "You'd laugh at some of my assignments. There was a run awhile ago on elopements, and my assignment was to have one every Monday morning. The girl must always be lovely and refined and moving in the best society; elopement with the coachman preferred, varied with a teacher in a Sunday School. . . . One of the assignments I liked was 'Sayings of Our Little Ones.' . . . It is really surprising how many bright things you can make children of five and six years say if you give your mind to it." Nearly the whole chapter is given up to a satirical account of a "scoop" by Mr. Brad.

Howells has no extended satire upon literature or the press; but in three of his novels there occur satirical passages. In "A Modern Instance" (1882) he criticizes the journalistic profession through the portrayal of its effects upon a nature such as that of Bartley Hubbard. This character is made to say in one place concerning his ideas of running a paper: "I should make it pay by making it such a thorough newspaper that every class of people must have it. I should cater to the lower class first, and as long as I was poor I would have the fullest and best reports of every local accident and crime; that would take all the rabble. Then, as I could afford it, I'd rise a little, and give first-class non-partisan reports of local political affairs; that would fetch the next largest class, the ward politicians of all parties. I'd lay for the local religious world after that:—religion comes right after politics in the popular mind, and it interests the women like murder: I'd give the minutest religious intelligence, and not only that, but the religious gossip, and the religious scandal. Then I'd go in for fashion and society,—that comes next. I'd have the most reliable and thorough-going financial reports that money could buy. . . . Every fellow that could spell, in any part of the country, should understand that, if he sent me an account of a suicide, or an elopement, or a murder, or an accident, he should be well paid for it; and I'd rise on the same scale through all the departments. I'd add art criticisms, dramatic and sporting news, and book-reviews, more for the looks of the thing than for anything else; they don't any of them appeal to a large class." To the other's question,—"And then you'd begin to clean up a little, —let up on your murders and scandals, and purge and live cleanly like a gentleman?" Hubbard replies: "I don't know about the cleaning up. I should want to keep all my audience. If I cleaned up, the dirty fellows would go off to someone else; and the fellows that pretended to be clean would be disappointed."

Some of Howells' ideas concerning writers and readers of literature, particularly fiction, are expressed with a satirical note in speeches which he gives to several of his characters in "The Rise of Silas Lapham" (1885) and "A Traveler from Altruria" (1894). In the former of these Penelope Lapham says to Tom Corey: "Why can't they let people have a chance to behave reasonably in stories? . . . It would be novel at any rate." The Rev. Mr. Sewell, in the same story, speaking of Penelope's idea that she must not be a rival of her sister's for the man they both love, says: "I

don't know where this false ideal comes from, unless it comes from the novels that befool and debauch almost every intelligence in some degree." Howells constantly insists that too much attention is given in novels to the picturing of young love; he seems to believe that the only really worth-while love is that which comes after marriage. Twelvemough, an author, who is represented as the host and narrator of the story in "A Traveler from Altruria," says of his art: "You know, I am a writer of romantic fiction, and my time is so fully occupied in manipulating the destinies of the good old fashioned hero and heroine, and trying always to make them end in a happy marriage, that I have hardly had a chance to look much into the lives of agriculturists and artisans." As to readers, there is this in the book just quoted from, spoken by a Mr. Markley: "Yes, I like to have a book where I can get at it when we're not going out to the theatre and I want to quiet my mind down after business. I don't care much what the book is; my wife reads to me till I drop off, and then she finishes the book herself and tells me the rest of the story. . . . I let my wife do most of the reading, anyway." The attitude of the rich towards books in many cases is satirized in "The Rise of Silas Lapham." In one instance Irene Lapham says: "If we have a library, we have got to have books in it. Pen says it's perfectly ridiculous having one. . . . Of course, papa will buy them if we say so. . . . He has got to get them in the nicest bindings, too." Tom Corey says to his father in one place: "I think I read with some sense of literature and the difference between authors. I don't suppose that people generally do that; I have met people who had read books without troubling themselves to find out even the author's name." To this the older man replies: "Yes, if authors were not almost necessarily recluses, and ignorant of the ignorance about them, I don't see how they could endure it. . . . I don't suppose that we who have the habit of reading, and at least a nodding acquaintance with literature, can imagine the bestial darkness of the great mass of people—even people whose houses are rich and whose linen is purple and fine." Howells makes practically the same points in his essays on literary topics, so that it is not unfair to take the above-quoted passages as representative of his feelings toward the readers and writers of the day.

Of the six authors who have been considered in this chapter Howells is the most important as a satirist. Irving, writing a history himself, only makes a few mildly satirical remarks regarding the authenticity of histories

in general. Paulding has much more extensive satire upon writers than has Howells, but it is much less convincing and is much less artistically presented. Cooper strikes almost entirely at the press, his animosity for it growing out of his years of controversy with most of the leading papers of the country. His satire is generally overemphasized and loses much of its effectiveness because of his too great efforts to make it effective, his methods largely defeating their own ends. Mark Twain, aside from the passages quoted, has little satire upon literature. Warner, his associate in the one novel, likewise has no extended satirical treatment. Howells, in his long career as writer and editor, had ample opportunity to learn what were the short-comings of literary and journalistic methods as employed in his day. His satire is wholly incidental, as is almost always the case with him, but it is apt and carries with it a conviction which the satire of the other authors often does not.

## CHAPTER VI

## CONCLUSIONS

We began by stating that satire is produced by a combination of three elements, adverse criticism, wit and indirectness of treatment, each of these three being present in widely varying degree. We have treated satire, so far as it is found in the American novel, from the point of view of the conditions satirized: (1) Social; (2) Political and Economic; (3) Religious; (4) Literary. It remains to consider some of the conclusions to which our survey has led us.

The first novel[1] which can properly be claimed as American, "The Power of Sympathy," is essentially a social satire. It was published in 1789, the year of Washington's inauguration as President, of the publication of Noah Webster's "Dissertation on the English Language" and David Ramsay's "History of the Revolution," and of the first performances of William Dunlap's "The Father; or American Shandyism" and "Darby's Return." The author, Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton,[2] was born in 1759, also the birth-year of Burns and Schiller, and spent the whole of her rather active life in her native Massachusetts; she died in 1846. Her husband was for a time Attorney-General of that state. She herself became a leader in the New England literary movements of the time, contributed poems and sketches to the Massachusetts Magazine, and was known to many of her contemporaries as the "American Sappho." Professor Trent speaks of her as "representing for her native land the quintessential principles of Della Cruscan sentimentality."

Mrs. Morton's novel, "The Power of Sympathy," resembles in form

[1] Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, who was born in America, but left this country when a child, had published in England in 1752 a satirical novel, "The Female Quixote," which seems to have been very popular in its day. See the Dictionary of National Biography for a sketch of her life.

[2] See article, "The Real Author of the Power of Sympathy," by A. W. Braley, in The Bostonian, Dec., 1894. The novel ran serially in The Bostonian, Oct., 1894-June, 1895.

Richardson's "Pamela" (1740), the story being carried on through the medium of letters from one character to another. Mrs. Morton probably was inspired by him also with the idea of writing a satire aimed at seduction. However, sentimentality and the tendency to preach characterize a very large part of the novels which were appearing in England during the latter half of the century and which found a ready circle of readers in America.

Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that novel-reading was generally approved in this country, particularly in New England. Opposition to this class of reading is undoubtedly one of the chief reasons for the tardy development of novel-writing in America during the early years. Jonathan Edwards from the pulpit censured various members of his congregation for such reading; and Timothy Dwight, who became president of Yale in 1795, pointed out the great gulf which he professed to see lying between the novel and the Bible. So long, however, as the tale was founded, or was supposed to be founded, upon truth, no matter how wild or improbable the tale might be, it was considered to be fit for general reading.

This explains why there appear on the title page of Mrs. Morton's novel the words "founded in truth," and why Mrs. Hannah Foster adds to the title of her book "The Coquette" the subtitle of "A Novel Founded on Fact," and Mrs. Rowson to "Charlotte Temple" that of "A Tale of Truth." In this connection it seems worth-while to quote entire the preface to "The Power of Sympathy," wherein an attempt is made to forestall criticism: "Novels have ever met with a ready reception into the Libraries of the Ladies, but this species of writing hath not been received with universal approbation: Futility is not the only charge brought against it. An attempt, therefore, to make these studies more advantageous, has at least a claim upon the patience and candor of the public. In novels which expose no particular Vice, and which recommend no particular Virtue, the fair reader, though she may find amusement, must finish them without being impressed with any particular idea: So that if they are harmless, they are not beneficial. Of the letters before us, it is necessary to remark, that this error on each side has been avoided—the dangerous Consequences of Seduction are exposed, and the Advantages of Female Education set forth and recommended."

That Mrs. Morton regarded her book as a satire is evidenced by a passage in Letter XI, a letter which deals largely with the matter of novel-

reading: "I will drop this piece of morality, with a charge to the fair reader, that whenever she discovers a satire, ridiculing or recriminating the follies or crimes of mankind, that she look into her own heart, and compare the strictures on the conduct of others with her own feelings."

As a novel "The Power of Sympathy" is very much of a failure. As a satire it is not much better. The plot of the story is very loosely connected and has no interest in itself. It serves only as an excuse for the letters, and gives an indirectness to the assault without which the "strictures" would be largely invective. The book is of interest, however, and I have discussed it and its author at much greater length than its worth deserves, because it is our first American novel and our first satire in fiction.

Somewhat more important is the work of another woman, Mrs. Susanna Haswell Rowson, who was born in England in 1762, but came to America four years later with her father, a British revenue officer. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution, Mr. Haswell, with his daughter and his second wife, whom he had married in America, was forced to leave the country. The family returned to England, where Susanna, at the request of her father, was united in marriage to William Rowson, a marriage which seems never to have been very happy. In 1793 Mrs. Rowson, with her husband, went upon the stage and soon thereafter came to America, where she first appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. In 1797 she left the stage and opened a school for girls in Boston. In this new work she succeeded very well, and for the rest of her life—she died in 1824—she acted as preceptress of her school and wrote voluminously—novels, poems, essays, and text-books.

Of all her writings the one book for which she is remembered, and the only one with which we are concerned in this discussion, is "Charlotte Temple" (1790). Its popularity then and later is attested by the facts that twenty-five thousand copies were sold in the few years following its appearance, that it was translated into at least one foreign language, and that it has since its first publication gone through over a hundred editions.[1] Even today it is frequently wept over by romantic young ladies who follow with

[1] The 1905 edition contains a sketch of Mrs. Rowson's life and work. See also Elias Nason's "A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson with Elegant and Illustrative Extracts from her Writings in Prose and Poetry," the frontispiece for which is a portrait of Mrs. Rowson.

the author the rather stereotyped adventures of poor Charlotte.[1]

In this book Mrs. Rowson satirizes, as had Mrs. Morton, the social conditions which make seduction possible. Though there are present the same sentimentality and didacticism, they are not so obtrusive as in the earlier work. There are not the constant preaching and repetition of harrowing examples that weary Mrs. Morton's readers. There is still plenty of the sensational, but it is administered in smaller doses and with greater understanding of its effect. The satire is largely implied in the situation, and so, from the standpoint of its place in fiction, its use marks a considerable advance.

Though chronologically Miss Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867) comes somewhat later, she belongs in some respects with the other two women just discussed. She was born the year preceding the publication of Mrs. Rowson's "Charlotte Temple." Like Mrs. Rowson, she conducted a school for young ladies during the latter part of her life; like her, too, her writings are entirely in the mode of the eighteenth-century English novels which served as her models and so are filled with many tedious pages of sentimental sermonizing. In the truthfulness of her pictures of life, however, she is far ahead of the earlier novelist and educator. Her chief satire is in "A New England Tale" (1822) wherein she attacks the stock character of the grasping and heartless aunt who mistreats the sweet and blameless orphan who has been left in her charge. Since the satire has no originality and is largely of a stereotyped nature, it is of little value; but the fact that Miss Sedgwick combines her satire rather cleverly with her narrative and makes the satire an organic part of it entitles her to mention in any discussion of the development of satirical writing.

A relief from the solemn and tear-bedewed preachments of Mrs. Morton and Mrs. Rowson is the rollicking and yet stinging satire of Hugh Henry Brackenridge's[2] "Modern Chivalry" (1792-1805). Whereas the novels of

[1] Mrs. Tabitha Tenney's "Female Quixotism, Exemplified in the Romantic Opinions and Extravagant Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon" (1808), seems to be, to some extent, a burlesque of "Charlotte Temple."

[2] Brackenridge was born in Scotland in 1748; came to America in 1753; graduated from Princeton (1771) with James Madison and Philip Freneau; studied divinity and was a chaplain in the Continental army; later turned to law; appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1799, which office he held till his death, in 1816.

the two women are absolutely void of humor, one finds plenty of it on almost every page of "Modern Chivalry," particularly in the earlier volumes. Of sentimentality there is very little, except as it is held up to ridicule. Though the plot of the book is rambling, disjointed, and highly extravagant, there are still enough narrative and character-portrayal in it to warrant listing it as a novel. In the story the Captain and his servant, the ignorant bog-trotter Teague, start out to see the world, which, one gathers from the sequel, lies largely between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, although a trip is later made to France. During the years covered by the various volumes the two meet with many strange adventures, each of which gives the author an opportunity to deliver a satiric polemic upon the conditions pictured. In general, each chapter of narrative is followed by a chapter of comment upon the adventures just recorded. According to the author's own statement the work was composed upon the model of Cervantes, Rabelais, le Sage, and especially Swift. It is one of the many Quixote-type stories which appeared in England and America during the eighteenth century. Brackenridge's original plan was to put his satire into verse,[1] upon the model of Samuel Butler's "Hudibras," but fortunately, we may believe, he abandoned verse for prose, though the account of the adventures of the Captain and his servant resembles in many ways that of the adventures of Butler's knight and squire.

Brackenridge's satire is chiefly political, and it is aimed particularly at the extravagancies and follies of democratic government as exemplified in the newly-born United States. The evils of the existing electoral system, of trial by jury, of the excise laws, of municipal government are wittily and severely attacked. His experiences as a divinity student and as an army chaplain seem to have given him liberal views on religious matters, for in several places he attacks narrowness and intolerance. His social satire is his poorest, for in it he seems to be less sincere and less at home. He shows considerable narrative power, especially in the first two volumes, and in spite of his exaggerations the episodes which he relates are interesting in themselves. His purpose, however, is primarily satirical, and the story is merely an excuse for dealing with such a variety of subjects. The chapters of comment are equally interesting with those of narrative. Though less read than "Charlotte Temple," "Modern Chivalry" has more merit, both as satire and as

[1] See his two satirical dramatic poems, "The Battle of Bunker Hill" (1776) and "The Death of Gen. Montgomery" (1777).

fiction.

Washington Irving's (1783-1859) "Knickerbocker's History of New York" (1809), which appeared shortly after the last volume of "Modern Chivalry," has many points of similarity, as well as a good many of dissimilarity, to that work. It is full of humorous pictures, exaggerations, and droll wit, but the satire is more genial and good-natured than Brackenridge's and has a more restricted scope.

Irving, like Fielding in the case of "Joseph Andrews,"[1] began his book as a burlesque, and ended by making of it something entirely different, a work of fiction, with an historic background, in which the burlesque element is almost entirely obliterated. A Dr. Samuel Mitchill, of the New York Historical Society, had published in 1807 a pedantic, pretentious handbook called "A Picture of New York." This book Irving, with his brother Peter, set out to ridicule. Peter, however, after five chapters had been completed, tired of the venture, sailed for Europe, and left Washington to finish the work alone. He was not long in discovering the greater possibilities of the field and soon dropped the ponderous style which he had been employing in imitation of Dr. Mitchill for one of greater freedom and, as it proved, of far greater charm and interest. When the book appeared, Irving, who held a rather high place in the society of the more aristocratic Dutch families of New York, was for a time considered to be somewhat of a spy and traitor, but in general even those whose ancestors had been more or less held up to ridicule soon joined in the general laugh.

Various critics profess to see in Irving's "History" echoes of Rabelais, Swift, Sterne, Cervantes, Goldsmith, and others, but it is essentially an original work. It has a whimsical charm and freshness of treatment which are unique. The satire, after the introductory chapters, is directed, in the main, at the extravagancies, trickeries, and weaknesses of the early Dutch settlers, but, when occasion offers, Irving ironically states that much the same criticisms might be made of a somewhat later society, that of his own time. Much of the satire, however, as in the case of Swift's "Gulliver's Travels" or

[1] Henry Fielding's "Joseph Andrews" appeared in 1742. Disgusted with the sentimentality and shallow ethics of Richardson's "Pamela," referred to in connection with "The Power of Sympathy," Fielding began a burlesque upon it. He soon lost sight of his narrower purpose, however, and devoted his chief effort to presenting a picture of English country life.

Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfall," has been forgotten in the enjoyment of other qualities in the work.

Closely associated with Irving in his literary endeavors was James Kirk Paulding (1779-1860). Though the greater part of Paulding's satire is to be found in his non-fictional works, a good deal has been injected into two of his novels—"Konigsmarke" (1823) and "The Dutchman's Fireside" (1831). The latter, which deals with somewhat the same material as Irving's "History," has only a few scattered satirical passages; the former is very largely satire. It has been regarded by some critics as having been aimed primarily at Scott,[1] by others as aimed at Cooper.[2] The book contains three chief elements: an account of the early settlements on the Delaware River by the Swedes, portrayal of the Indian, and descriptions of the efforts by the English to dislodge the Swedish settlers. The satire which is leveled at the Swedes resembles very much that to be found in Irving's work. It is broadly humorous, rather extravagant in places, and in general genial and good-natured. The Indian is pictured as quite the opposite of Cooper's Indian: instead of being the noble red-man, he is a tricky, blood-thirsty, bestial savage. Whenever there is occasion to refer to the British, Paulding becomes caustic, and the satire is more harsh and acrimonious. Paulding inherited from his father, who had been a strong supporter of the Revolution, a bitter anti-British feeling. He himself was a staunch patriot and he lost no opportunity to laud the principles of democracy, sometimes with more zeal than justice.

As stated before, Paulding's chief satire is to be found outside of his fictional writings, as in "Salmagundi," wherein the editors[3] set out to ridicule the follies, social, political, and otherwise, of the people of 1807. He likewise ridicules, usually rather severely, a wide variety of things in his "The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan" (1813), which deals with the War of 1812 and was very successful; "The Lay of the Scotch Fiddle" (1813), a parody of Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," which hurls defiance at the boasted British navy; and "Merry Tales of the Three Wise Men of

[1] Loshe, Lillie Deming, "The Early American Novel," p. 103.

[2] Pattee, Fred Lewis, "A History of American Literature," 1896, p. 128.

[3] Paulding, his brother-in-law, William Irving, and the latter's brother Washington. They began "Salmagundi, or the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff and Others," a satirical miscellany patterned after the "Spectator Papers," on Jan. 24, 1807. The twentieth and last number came out Jan. 25, 1808. In 1819-1820 Paulding issued a second series alone.

Gotham" (1826) and "A New Mirror for Travelers" (1826), which are chiefly social satires.

With Irving and Paulding belongs another writer who was a close friend of both—John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1868). Though less important as a satirist than either of the other two, he surpasses Paulding as a literary figure. Like Paulding he was a man of affairs, and like him he was for a time Secretary of the Navy. Again, like Irving and Paulding, he took part, with Peter Hoffman Cruse, in the publication of a miscellany, which was called "The Red Book" and which appeared during 1818 and 1819; in it were issued verse and prose, dealing, often satirically, with affairs of Baltimore and the nation at large, as had "Salmagundi" with New York and the nation. Outside of his novels, however, his chief satirical writing is "The Annals of Quodlibet" (1840). Two of his novels, "Swallow Barn" (1832), which deals with plantation life in Virginia, somewhat after the pattern of Irving's "Bracebridge Hall," and his "Horseshoe Robinson" (1835), a stirring tale of the Revolution, contain considerable political satire. In the former Kennedy takes the viewpoint of the South as regards the slavery question, but the satire is not bitter or extremely partisan. In the latter, the British and the Tories are attacked rather sharply. Kennedy's satire is almost entirely that of situation and forms an interesting element in his narrative.

In James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) we reach the most interesting figure so far considered. Born the year of the publication of the first American novel, "The Power of Sympathy," he published his first novel, "Precaution," in 1820, when he was a few days past twenty-one. During the remaining thirty-one years of his life he produced thirty-one novels, in addition to almost innumerable other works—histories, books of travel, essays, controversial articles, and public letters. Of the novels less than half are at all well known; a few are almost never read. It is with this less-read portion that we are here chiefly concerned.

There are two Coopers, the popular artist who gave to us such admirable stories as "The Spy" and "The Last of the Mohicans," and the unpopular controversialist who was the author of "The Monikins" and "The Ways of the Hour." A genius so long as he moved in the realm of the imagination, he became a blundering failure the moment he essayed the role of critic and reformer. His novels represent two extremes: most of those that are good are excellent, and those that are not good are very poor. In his case it can

be said very definitely that the deeper he dipped his pen into satire, the farther he departed from true art.

Though there are traces of satire in almost every novel that he wrote, it is very much more in evidence in some than in others. The first novel which contains any considerable amount is "The Red Rover" (1828). In June, 1826, Cooper had gone abroad. From this time on, satire became an increasingly large ingredient in his writings. Cooper was an intense admirer of his native land and overlooked no opportunity, proper or otherwise, to defend her principles and actions against foreign criticism. With little tact and little consideration as to the results, he struck in all directions and heaped upon those persons and opinions that had incurred his displeasure what often went beyond the bounds of satire and became unvarnished abuse. In "The Red Rover" Cooper makes satirical references to what he considered the hypocritical piety of the reformers who came to us, chiefly from England. In a later edition of the novel (1850), he took occasion in the preface to refer sarcastically to the Rhode Island Historical Society and its earlier criticisms of him and his work. "The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish" (1829), a story of King Philip's Wars, has considerable satire upon the early Puritans in New England. Though somewhat of a Puritan himself, he seems always to have looked with mistrust and aversion upon these early pioneers, and his pictures of them are anything but complimentary. It is generally conceded that his representations are not just, and that they were inspired largely by prejudice rather than historical insight.

While abroad, Cooper published three novels, the scenes of which are laid in foreign cities: "The Bravo" (1831), in Venice; "The Heidenmauer" (1832), on the Rhine; "The Headsman" (1833), among the Alps. In these he staunchly defended American institutions and bitterly attacked European society. Especially did he resent foreign criticism of America, criticism which, though sometimes just, was often ignorant, prejudiced, and sarcastic.

Soon after his return to America, he published "The Monikins" (1835). This is almost purely satire, somewhat after the pattern of parts of Swift's "Gulliver's Travels," but without Swift's wit or power. It is one of the worst pieces of writing that he did, and it is deservedly read only by those who are required to do so. Cooper not only had not been backed up by the American press for his attacks upon European thought and custom but had been severely criticized. He returned, therefore, in no very amicable frame

of mind. In "The Monikins" he vented his spleen chiefly upon social and political conditions in England and America. These two countries he represented allegorically as the respective home-lands of two monkeys, Leaphigh and Leaplow. The allegorical covering is so thin in many places, however, that the strictures cease to be satire and become pure invective.

In 1838 appeared two novels from the pen of Cooper, both of which are filled with satire upon things entirely American. These were "Homeward Bound" and "Home as Found." He tells us in the introduction to the first of these that his original purpose was to write but the one novel dealing with conditions as he found them upon his return from abroad, but that the story of the voyage had become so interesting and had been drawn out to so great length that he had decided to write a sequel which should contain most of the material intended for the original volume. The result is that "Homeward Bound" is a tolerably good story, especially in those parts where the author allows his imagination to play upon the dangers which he pictures as happening in the trip across. The story is interrupted occasionally by discussions upon ideals of liberty and equality and upon the impressions which the travelers are likely to experience upon reaching their native land. Especially are the American press and its methods held up to ridicule. "Home as Found" is from beginning to end almost a continual lecture to Americans upon their shortcomings. He assails their provincialism, their press, their ideas of literary values, their greed for gold, their reverence for majorities, and a score of other real and implied faults. Most of what Cooper says is true, but the way in which he said it only angered his fellow-countrymen. His chief spokesmen are the two Effinghams, Edward and John. To so great an extent did Cooper, though probably unintentionally, make these men resemble himself that he was often referred to later by his enemies as John Effingham. Lowell, even, in his "Fable for Critics" (1848) refers to him satirically as having "written six volumes to show he's as good as a lord."

In the two volumes of "Afloat and Ashore" (1844), the second of which is usually known by the title of "Miles Wallingford," Cooper continued to some extent his strictures upon things both American and foreign, New England thought and customs, native ideas of architecture, ideas of equality, New York society, the press. "Miles Wallingford" has many more satirical passages than the first volume of the story. The satire is not sustained but comes in as occasional comments and digressions. Nor is the satire so sharp as in

some of the earlier novels. Some of the acridity is gone, and in its stead there is more of a sullen growling.

Following "Afloat and Ashore" came the three so-called "Littlepage Manuscripts,"—"Satanstoe" (1845), "The Chainbearer" (1846), and "The Redskins" (1846). The first of these is the best and likewise contains the least satire. Only in the preface is there reference to the anti-rent controversy which plays so large a part in the other two. It is a picture of early life in New York and in general is very true to facts. "The Chainbearer," which contains an excellent delineation of the life of the squatters, begins the attack upon the anti-renters which is continued with much more vehemence in "The Redskins." This book goes back to the earlier manner exemplified in the vitriolic strictures of "Home as Found." Besides the rent troubles all sorts of matters which the author had satirized in previous novels are again dragged in and given a new scolding.

Two other little-known novels of his last years are in the main satires. These are "The Crater" (1847) and "The Ways of the Hour" (1850). The first of these is a description of a modern Utopia in which are exemplified most of Cooper's political beliefs. He satirizes elements in existing conditions by having a body of immigrants come to the Utopia who, by following the old ideals, destroy the happiness and prosperity of the original settlers. "The Ways of the Hour" is an attack upon trial by jury. In general the satire is too absurd to carry any conviction; rather, it produces an opposite effect, and leads one to laugh at Cooper instead of at that which he is criticizing.

Indeed, it may be said of nearly all the works of Cooper discussed in the foregoing paragraphs that, had they never been given to the public, the author's fame would have been greater and he would have held a much higher place in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. Cooper was not one who could use satire artistically. His art was that of the story teller alone, and when he essayed to venture into other paths, his genius deserted him. His father had been one of the large landholders of New York, and from him and from his own early boyhood surroundings he had derived a feeling of superiority and independence of thought and action which went with him through life. Always inspired by the highest motives, he constantly bungled and made unnecessary enemies wherever he went. As Professor Lounsbury

says in the concluding sentences of his study of Cooper:[1] "America has had among her representatives of the irritable race of writers many who have shown far more ability to get on pleasantly with their fellows than Cooper. She has had several gifted with higher spiritual insight than he, with broader and juster views of life, with finer ideals of literary art, and, above all, with far greater delicacy of taste. But she counts on the scanty roll of her men of letters the name of no one who acted from purer patriotism or loftier principle. She finds among them all no manlier nature, and no more heroic soul."

Although Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) cannot properly be classed as a satirist, there are satiric elements in much that he wrote. Himself of Puritan ancestry, he had outgrown the intolerance and harshness of the older Puritans, and, while reverencing them for their strength of character, he could at the same time express his revulsion at their cruelty and, as it seemed to him, unchristian spirit. His own forebears had been persecutors of the Quakers and of the "witches," but this did not deter him from holding their actions up to scorn. In the first and greatest of his romances, "The Scarlet Letter" (1850), there are elements of satire. Though the picture of the iron-hearted judges of Ester Prynne is pure realism, there is implied in the strictures upon their conduct criticism of all intolerance, and of the attempts to punish sin by human means. This fact is even more forcibly expressed in the short story "The Gentle Boy." Again, in "The House of Seven Gables" (1851), in the opening chapters, we have much the same sort of satire. In the later chapters is also satire upon the hypocrite and the snob. Neither of these books, however, can be classed as satire, for the satire is only incidental and is entirely overshadowed by other elements. "The Blithedale Romance" (1852) is more definitely a satire. It is based upon Hawthorne's associations with the Brook Farm experiment and ridicules not only that project but all others like it. Of Hawthorne's three completed romances this is the least important. In "Mosses from an Old Manse" are several allegorical tales which are satirical in tone: "Mrs. Bullfrog," "The Hall of Fantasy," "The Celestial Railroad," "The Procession of Life," "Feathertop," "The New Adam and Eve," "Egotism," "The Intelligence Office," "Earth's Holocaust," "A Virtuoso's Collection." In practically all, the chief satire is

[1] "James Fenimore Cooper," American Men of Letters Series, Lounsbury, Thomas R., New York, 1890.

upon hypocrisy, the struggle for non-essentials, man's intolerance and his attempted punishment of sin. Of Hawthorne, particularly as regards "The Scarlet Letter" and "The House of Seven Gables," it can be said that he shows a marked improvement over any of his predecessors in the artistic use of satire in fiction. One does not feel that the satire detracts from the value of the writing as fiction, but rather that it adds to it. In other words, the satire has become an organic part of the whole, a thing not true of much fiction which came before him.

In each of the three novels of Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894), "Elsie Venner" (1861), "The Guardian Angel" (1867), and "A Mortal Antipathy" (1885), are given intimate glimpses of New England life in the small town. In this connection there is considerable satire upon the little hypocrisies, snobberies, and follies of such society. This satire is generally broadly humorous and lacking in any acidity or show of temper. This is not true, however, of another element of satire which also appears in all three novels. Holmes was a staunch enemy of Calvinistic dogma and lost no opportunity to show his enmity. So, in his fiction, as in his delightful essays, the more caustic side of his wit was turned upon what he considered to be false and ungodly tenets of religious faith. Here the satire is sharp and bitter.

Bayard Taylor (1825-1878) deserves mention in a discussion of American satire because of his novel "Hannah Thurston" (1863). In this the author shows something of the spirit of Cooper. With money secured from the publication of his books of travel and volumes of poetry and from his lecturing, Taylor had been able to purchase near his boyhood home in Chester County an estate, which he called Cedarcroft. Here he and his wife entertained in a generous manner which did not meet with the entire approval of their rather straight-laced neighbors, particularly as regards the matter of drinking. In his first novel, "Hannah Thurston," Taylor showed his resentment at their criticism by satirizing with a good deal of spirit what he regarded as the provincialism and narrow-mindedness of the would-be reformers who had aroused his ire. The book is not a great novel, but the satire has an abundance of keen wit and of realistic background which make it well worth study.

Probably the most famous purpose-novel in American fiction is "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1851), by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896). Estimates of the worth of the book as literature differ widely, from those which

place it among the greatest novels of the world to those which declare it is not a novel at all. Its true position lies between the two extremes. It is, as a whole, a satire upon slavery.[1] Situation is the chief method employed. The strong emotional appeal which Mrs. Stowe was able to put into her pictures explains the continued popularity of the book for so many years after the immediate occasion for its writing had passed. In her "Pink and White Tyranny" (1871) Mrs. Stowe tried a different sort of satire. In this book she attempted to satirize the life of the social butterfly. For this type of satire, however, she was not fitted. She had had little experience in the phases of life which she tried to picture, and her characters and situations are chiefly of the stock variety. The strong appeal of the earlier novel is entirely lacking.

Samuel Langhorne Clemens, "Mark Twain," (1835-1910) is, after Cooper, our most extensive satirist. In quality his satire far surpasses that of the earlier writer. Much of Cooper's satire grew out of attempts to vent personal spite upon his critics or others whom he considered his enemies. The result is that a great deal of his satire is narrow, ill-considered, and lacking in interest unless one studies it in connection with the particular episode in the author's life which called it forth. The satire of Mark Twain, on the other hand, comes from an inborn hatred of all sham, hypocrisy, and sentimentality, wherever and however manifested. Getting his early training in the rough and matter-of-fact life of the fast-growing West, where a man had to stand or fall largely by virtue of his own intrinsic merits, this hatred of the "gilded" was intensified and deepened till it became one of the dominant qualities of his character, and so of his writings. On the river-boats, in the mining camps, at the editorial desk of the small newspaper, he lived in an atmosphere of rough humor, practical jokes, and irreverent comment. The air was full of incongruities and exaggerations. It is not strange, therefore, that the earlier writings, particularly, of Mark Twain are full of burlesque and boisterous laughter. The only trouble is that he often showed too much of the Philistine spirit. From mawkish sentimentality he sometimes went to the opposite extreme where nothing was sacred and where conventions were merely clods to be kicked into the ditch. Fortunately, however, this was not always the case, for at heart he was entirely sincere, and, if he occasionally

[1] In "A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1853) Mrs. Stowe presented the evidence upon which she had based her novel.

overstepped the bounds of good taste, the effect of his fracture of the rules was at least to call attention very forcibly to the narrowness and senselessness of much that had previously been accepted as the only becoming mode.

Much that Mark Twain wrote cannot properly be classed as fiction, though there is in nearly everything that he produced a fictional element. Primarily a humorist and satirist, he lacked the studied technique and painstaking patience necessary for the development of a great plot or a great character. His ability lay rather in the depiction of a single episode. The result is that even such of his works as may be called novels are episodic and lacking in constructive finish.

Beginning with "The Innocents Abroad" (1869), his works which contain any considerable amount of satire are "Roughing It" (1872), "The Gilded Age" (1873), "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" (1876), "The Prince and the Pauper" (1882), "A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court" (1889), "The American Claimant" (1892), "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899), and "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" (1908). As stated in the previous paragraph, opinions differ widely as to the right which each of these has to be classed as fiction. However, there is in all of them a fictional element, which would seem to entitle them to a place in the present discussion.

Mark Twain's first great success was his "The Innocents Abroad," an account of his visit to the Mediterranean and adjoining countries. On the surface it was merely a funny man's story of a trip and was so considered by a great many readers and then laid aside. Underneath the fun, however, is the serious purpose to expose the sham sentimentality, sham appreciation of the great and the beautiful, and sham reverence for things of the Old World which had so often characterized the traveler in foreign lands. Though it is true, as previously stated, that he occasionally errs in the opposite direction, and seems sometimes to forfeit our respect, nevertheless his pages contain more real truth than did most of the travel-books of the time, and their effect upon later books of the sort has been of a decidedly salutary nature.

"Roughing It" contains less of the satirical than does the earlier book. Purporting to be an autobiographical sketch of a trip through the West, it boastfully proclaims the superior qualities of this region, at the same time laughing rather boisterously at the older and less favored sections of

the world.

In "The Gilded Age" (with Charles Dudley Warner) and "The American Claimant" the satire is chiefly of the corrupt political conditions which characterized city, state, and nation during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Colonel Sellers is the central character in both; around him is woven a great deal of noisy burlesque, coupled with stinging thrusts at those who made of public office little else than an easy means to private gain.

Of his next, and best known novel, "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer," little need be said here. It contains the least satire of all his works under consideration. The satire, where it does occur, is purely incidental and is no outstanding quality as in the other cases.

Hatred of sham and sentimentality and hatred of monarchial despotism find expression in "The Prince and the Pauper" and "A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court." Though not dealing with native material, except in so far as the Yankee reveals American characteristics, both books are nevertheless American in tone, since the contrast is always between democracy and monarchy, between reality and superstition. "The Prince and the Pauper" is partly a children's story of how Prince Edward and Tom Canty, a beggar boy, exchange clothes and positions, and partly a grown-ups' satire upon kings and courts and courtly artificialities. Much more scathing in its satirical lashings is the "Connecticut Yankee." As "The Innocents Abroad" voiced a reaction against the sentimentality connected with material relics of the Old World, so this book voices a reaction against the sentimentality connected with the so-called chivalry of the Middle Ages. It is throughout a rather untrammeled burlesque of such writings as Malory's "Morte d'Arthur" and Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." It is true that Mark Twain ascribes to King Arthur's day many faults which did not exist then but which were characteristic of the author's own or intervening centuries; yet, in the main, he paints a very realistic picture of the sordidness and oppression and misery which fed the flower of knighthood, and which had been largely forgotten or glossed over by other writers.

In "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" he satirizes the folly of greed and the hypocritical smugness of those who pray not to be led into temptation and then weakly succumb to the first real temptation which comes to them. Again, in "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" he satirized the, to him,

absurd picture of heaven as given to us by the Hebrews. That he could not altogether free himself from the conventional belief in a city of golden streets seems to be evidenced by the fact that this latter story was kept in manuscript for more than half of its author's lifetime and published only two years before his death.

And now what shall we say of Mark Twain's position as a satirist among American writers of fiction? If it be granted that the writings discussed in the preceding paragraphs are fiction, and in the broader sense of imagination playing upon and transforming facts, they are fiction, then their author is entitled to a position near, if not at, the top. Many others have written greater novels and short stories, many others have combined satire more artistically with fiction, but none has used satire more extensively, more sincerely, or, on the whole, more effectively than he.

A close friend of Mark Twain's for over forty years was William Dean Howells (1837-1920). A delightful account of the circumstances which brought them together and of their later associations is given in the latter's "My Mark Twain[1]." Howells had considerable influence upon the literary development of Mark Twain, but that influence led away from satire to a more subdued, more polished, more nearly realistic treatment of material. Though this possibly kept him from being an even greater satirist than he was, it undoubtedly made of him a more artistic writer of fiction.

Howells is not, like his friend, primarily a humorist, though he has an abundance of humor scattered through his writings. Nor is he essentially a satirist. A keen critic, he usually voiced his criticisms directly, and then generally in his non-fictional works. Satire, when it does find a place in his novels, is usually incidental and is presented in what amounts often to a kind of aside,—a chuckle on the part of the author at some fault, or fad, or foible which the telling of his story suggests to him. In such cases it is always artistically interwoven with the narrative, and so does not impress one as being a digression or a fault in the picture. Howells, in an age of burlesque, and slang, and deliberate slovenliness of expression, stood for finish, exactness of phrasing, and sustained tonal quality. Satire such as was flung from the pen of Mark Twain was therefore impossible for him. His satire tickles rather than stings. It is suggestive rather than polemic. One exception,

[1] New York, 1910.

perhaps, may be made: in his treatise-novels "A Traveler from Altruria" and "Through the Eye of the Needle" he becomes more definitely the satirist, and cries out strongly against the evils of our present economic system. Here there are none of the half-playful slaps such as occur in his more definitely fictional works. He hits in many directions, and hits hard.

Though born in America of American parents, Henry James (1843-1916) can in any strict sense hardly be called an American. After 1869 he spent little time on this side of the water, and in 1876 he took up his residence in London, there to remain till his death. In 1915, possibly in anger at the United States for not having rushed to the aid of his beloved England, he became a British subject. Few of his novels, and those not his best, deal with American themes. Satire there certainly is in practically all of these, but opinions differ widely as to its nature. In his novels and short stories dealing with Americans there is almost always contrast between these Americans and European characters. One critic would have it that he is satirizing the American, holding him up in more or less contempt beside the more polished and cosmopolitan European. Another critic insists that he is satirizing the latter for his supercilious snobbishness and Old World contempt for the less conventional ways of the New. The whole truth would seem to be that he wavers between the two. There can be no question but that the ways of Europe were to him more attractive than the ways of America; yet in the earlier years of his literary career he had not become so thoroughly weaned away from things American as was later the case, and he could still rise in their defense, though not with any great assurance or heat. His satire, in the main, must be felt, not seen, for it is almost invariably implied in the situation; hence the grounds for so wide a divergence of opinion regarding its purpose. In any case, the satire is very artistically combined with the story, and is an elusive, rather than an outstanding quality.

Another writer who, like James, is an American only in name is Francis Marion Crawford (1854-1909). Born in Italy, he spent practically all of his life there, residing in America for only a few years while studying at St. Paul's School and Harvard, and died at Sorrento, where he had been living for the past twenty-six years. Only a comparatively small part of what he wrote deals at all with America. Of his five novels the scenes of which are laid in America, only two contain any considerable amount of satire,—"An American Politician" (1885) and "The Three Fates" (1892). This satire, in

the main, has the flavor of coming more from the detached observations of a foreigner than from the experiences of a native. Therefore, so far as the strictly American novel is concerned, Crawford's satire is relatively unimportant.

In contrast with these two writers is a novelist and satirist who is thoroughly American, Charles Dudley Warner (1829-1900). Though better known as an essayist and editor than as a novelist, he had a part, more important than he is usually given credit for, with Mark Twain in the composition of "The Gilded Age." His trilogy of novels, "A Little Journey in the World" (1891), "The Golden House" (1895), "That Fortune" (1899), though they contain nothing that is strikingly new, form a contribution worthy of consideration. The three volumes contain some admirable satire upon the artificialties in the lives of the wealthy Wall Street gambler and the Fifth Avenue society woman who engages in charity work merely as an escape from ennui and because it is fashionable.

Frank R. Stockton (1834-1902) has some slight social satire in nearly all of his novels. He is fond of drawing caricatures, but his purpose is in the main to entertain, rather than to criticize. Where satire does occur, it is almost invariably aimed at selfishness, hypocrisy, or greed, as in "The Casting Away of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine" (1886), "The Hundredth Man" (1887), and "The Captain's Toll-Gate" (1903).

A writer who might have done greater things in the novel had he lived longer was Harold Frederic (1856-1898). Particularly in his "The Damnation of Theron Ware" (1896) he shows a power of character development, as well as of satirical treatment, not often encountered. His satire is of the relentless sort and pursues its object with ever increasing keenness.

Considerable satire, chiefly of a religious nature, is contained in "The Story of a Country Town" (1883) by Edgar Watson Howe (b. 1854). In this novel of great power and many weaknesses the author, with contemptuous, ironical hand, lays bare the hard, drab, sunless life of the middle western town, at about the same time that Mark Twain was boisterously singing its praise. On the other hand, the first part of the novel reminds one of one of Mark Twain's later stories, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." The satire is mainly that of situation, the writer seeming to portray his characters and episodes ever with a hard and cynical curl to his lip.

Another writer who has essayed to satirize religious dogmas and practices is Winston Churchill (b. 1871). In his "The Inside of the Cup" (1912) he takes up the cudgels against one type of church and church-member. He assails many of the orthodox interpretations of the Bible, many of the hypocritical words and actions of the "fashionable Christian," many of the weaknesses, as he sees them, in the practices of the modern church. On the other hand, as in "Coniston" (1906), he paints a satirical picture of corrupt political conditions. Here the satire is less argumentative and more essentially a coherent fictional quality.

To be given a high place among the more artistic satirists is Margaretta Campbell Deland (b. 1857). As the majority of her writings deal with religious, ethical, and sociological materials, it follows that her satire is of like nature. The daughter of a Presbyterian father and an Episcopal mother, she seems to have been reared in an atmosphere of considerable religious controversy, an outgrowth of which was her "John Ward, Preacher" (1888). Many of her stories center around the life as she knew it in "Old Chester," or Manchester, now a part of the center of the world's steel manufacturing industry. Here, and in New York and Boston, where she has since lived, she observed carefully the more intimate aspects of family life and has given faithful and artistic pictures of what she saw. In general, her purpose has been to call attention to the problems involved, rather than to attempt to present a solution. Open minded and generous herself, her satire is usually aimed at narrow-mindedness, selfishness, greed, and oppression. Always an artist, she makes of her satire a means to an end, and not the end itself. That is to say, since her purpose is primarily to paint, not a satirical picture, but a realistic one, the satirical tones are subdued and carefully shaded into the others, to the end that they shall not jar upon the critical taste.

Finally, a word must be said about another of our prominent living American authors, Edith Jones Wharton (b. 1862). Her satire is almost entirely social, the best example of it being that found in her "The Age of Innocence" (1920). Like Mrs. Deland, and Howells, and James, she is primarily interested, not in her satire, but in her story. To a greater extent than any of these, however, she uses satire in nearly everything that she produces. Nevertheless, like them, and often with greater skill, she keeps the satire from dominating the other elements in her work, making of it an entirely intrinsic and organic part of the whole. Used thus, satire becomes

a decided aid to fiction.

In the preceding paragraphs of this chapter an attempt has been made to discuss and, to some extent, to appraise the satire of the more prominent American novelists who have employed satire in any appreciable degree. In conclusion, we may now ask, what, on the whole, has been the effect of the use of satire upon the development of the novel in America.

At once it may be said that satire has not materially aided the novel. Satire and fiction, except in the hands of the really great artist, do not mingle well. Realism is not satire, and therefore the mere portrayal of a wicked, or foolish, or unconventional person or action is not necessarily, and usually is not at all, satirical, either in purpose or effect. Satire is not often a beautiful thing, and so is of little use to that author who is striving to create something beautiful. The novel of purpose is seldom the great novel, and satire is most frequently employed with the idea of spreading propaganda. Usually the author of such a novel is more interested in proving his point than in truthfully or interestingly presenting a great character or a great situation. When satire is used solely for humorous effect, it is generally neither great satire nor fine humor. Satire, as with Cooper, is occasionally employed in the novel for the venting of personal spite. Such use almost invariably results in poor fiction. The tendency of satire is to distort facts in order to exaggerate the uglier features. Great fiction cannot follow a similar method.

Looking back over the American novels of the past, one has difficulty in finding many great novels which contain any large amount of satire. There are many novels which have wit, many which contain criticism, but in most cases that indirectness of treatment which is necessary for satire is lacking. There have been excellent satires which were in novel form, but they were not great novels.

Satire to be of service to the novelist must be employed sparingly, incidentally, and carefully. It must slip in unobtrusively and be content to play a minor role, for the moment it usurps the center of the stage, the leading action or the leading actors are too likely to be neglected or forgotten. Under the painstaking direction of a great artist, however, a Hawthorne, or a Howells, or a Mrs. Wharton, it may be of considerable assistance in the creation of a great novel.

From an ethical viewpoint, the satire in the American novel would seem to have had a salutary effect. Though in some cases, like those of Mrs. Morton and Cooper, this may not be true, because of the unfairness of many of their strictures, these cases are the exceptions. Satire of things American, at least by Americans, has in the main been fair and honest. Too frequently, as in the case of Dickens, for instance, and Mrs. Humphry Ward, satire by English novelists has been unjust, largely because it has been based upon too short acquaintance or insufficient study of actual conditions. Although it is true that the same charge of ignorance, as well as that of malicious misrepresentation because of personal enmity or craving for notoriety, may also be made of some American writers, very few of these have produced fiction worthy of consideration, and their influence has been almost negligible. This desire to be fair in the criticisms made has undoubtedly worked against more extended use of satire in the American novel by the better class of writers, the tendency having been rather toward realistic presentation than satire.

Indirectly satire has contributed to the development of the novel in America by bringing to fiction some writers, like Brackenridge, Irving, and Mark Twain, who might not otherwise have turned to fiction as a medium of expression. It has likewise given to us a considerable number of worth-while novels which we should else not have. Most important of all, satire in the novel has frequently brought follies and abuses in our national life forcibly to the attention of a class of readers who might never have been reached in any other way. Therefore, although satire, from the absolute artistic point of view, has not aided to any great extent in the development of the American novel, it has been of definite value in interpreting and appraising many varied and important phases of our social history.

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